

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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ROLL OF DELEGATES AND OFFICE-BEARERS OF THE CONVENTION.

THE following is a corrected list of the nominations to the late General Anti-Slavery Convention, with the additions made subsequently to the printing of the last list:—

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(In his absence) SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq.

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LIST OF DELEGATES.

Abbott, Benjamin, Esq... Lewes, Sussex
Abdy, E. S., Esq. Bath
Adey, Rev. Edward Herts and South Beds. Baptist Association, and
Leighton Buzzard Anti-Slavery Assocn.
Aldis, Rev. John..... Southwark Ladies' Auxiliary
Alexander, Henry, Esq... Cirencester
Alexander, G. W., Esq... Treasurer of the Brit. and For. A. S. Society
Allbright, William, Esq... Exeter Ladies' Auxiliary
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Allen, William, Esq. Member of Com. of Brit. and For. A. S. Society
Allen, Stafford, Esq. Ditto
Anderson, David, Esq. .. Exeter Ladies' Auxiliary
Angus, Rev. Joseph, A.M. Baptist Missionary Society
Anstie, George W., Esq... Devizes
Aris, Joseph, Esq..... Croydon
Arundel, Rev. John London Missionary Society
Ashby, Thomas, Esq..... Staines
Ashby, Frederick, Esq. .. Ditto
Ashton, Rev. Robert Home Missionary Society
Ashurst, W. H., Esq.... Glasgow Emancipation Society
Aveling, Rev. Thomas ... Stoke Newington Ladies' Association

Balfour, James, Esq. New-street, Marylebone, Baptist church
Ball, William, Esq..... Member of Com. of Brit. and For. A. S. Society
Barnes, Rev. William.... Brompton, Middlesex
Barrett, Richard, Esq.... Member of Com. of Brit. & For. A. S. Society
Barrett, Jonathan, Esq... Croydon
Barrett, Joseph, Esq..... Ditto
Barrett, Henry, Esq. Ditto
Bassett, John D..... Leighton Buzzard
Bayley, William, Esq.... Stockton-on-Tees
Beaumont, William, Esq... Newcastle-on-Tyne
Beaumont, John, Esq.... Member of Com. of Brit. & For. A. S. Society
Beaumont, Abraham, Esq. Stoke Newington Ladies' Association
Beck, William, Esq..... Aborigines Protection Society
Bedford, Peter, Esq. Croydon
Bennett, Rev. James, D.D. Congregational Union for Scotland
Bennett, James, Esq..... Ditto
Bennett, Rev. John..... Northampton
Bewlay, Rev. Edward.... Cirencester
Bigg, William, Esq..... Banbury
Binney, Rev. Thomas.... Congregational Union of England and Wales
Birt, Rev. John Manchester and Salford
Birt, Rev. C. E..... Bristol
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Education Society in the state of Ohio
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Braithwaite, Isaac, Esq... Kendal
Brewin, Edward, Esq.... Worcester
Brock, Rev. William Norwich
Brockway, Alex., Esq.... Peace Society
Bromley, Joseph W., Esq. Tonbridge chapel, Congregational church
Brotherton, J., Esq., M.P. Manchester and Salford
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Buffum, Arnold, Esq.... Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society
Bulley, Mr. Alderman ... Liverpool
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Bunting, Rev. William M. Manchester and Salford
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dies' Association
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Burt, John, Esq..... { Finsbury and Hoxton Young Mens' Mutual
Instruction Society
Buxton, Sir T. Fowell, Bart. Member of Com. of Brit. & For. A. S. Society
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Candler, John, Esq. Hon. Corresponding Member
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Ministers, and Cong. Church, Well-street,
Hackney.
Carroll, Edward, Esq. ... Cork, Youghall, and Reading
Chalk, Thomas, Esq.... Kingston-on-Thames
Challis, Thomas, Esq.... Chairman of the London Missionary Society
Chapman, William, Esq... Newcastle-on-Tyne
Chapman, John, Esq.... Praed-street Baptist church
Charlesworth, Rev. J., B.D. Ipswich
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Childs, Thos. Cave, Esq. . Ditto
Childs, J., Esq. (Bungay) Denton, Wortwell, and Harleston, Indep. Congs.
Christy, William M., Esq. Kingston-on-Thames
Christy, Thomas, Esq.... Croydon
Clare, Peter, Esq. Manchester and Salford
Clarke, C., Esq..... Banbury Baptist Church and the Banbury Anti-
Slavery Society

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Clark, Joseph, jun., Esq. Ditto
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Conder, Josiah, Esq. Mem. of Com. of Brit. and For. A. S. Society
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Cooper, Joseph, Esq.... Member of Com. of Brit. & For. A. S. Society
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Credson, Isaac, Esq. ... Manchester and Salford
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Crisp, Rev. J. T. Bristol
Cropper, John, jun., Esq. Liverpool
Cross, William, Esq.... Colchester
Crowley, Abraham, Esq... Alton
Crowley, Henry, Esq. .. Ditto
Crowley, Charles, Esq. .. Croydon
Curtis, William, Esq.... Alton
Cuzner, Rev. J. S..... Horningsham Congregational Church

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Dawes, William, Esq.... Oberlin Institute, U.S.
Day, William, Esq..... Exeter
Day, James, Esq..... National Temperance Society
De la Rochefoucault Liancourt, Marquis.. French Abolition Society
Delf, E. H., Esq. Coward College
Dennistoun, J., Esq.. M.P. Glasgow Emancipation Society
Dicker, Thomas, Esq.... Lewes, Sussex
Dixon, Benjamin, Esq.... Congregational church, Felstead
Dobell, Henry, Esq. Congregational Church, Chelsea
Duggan, Rev. W. Native Baptist church, Spanish Town, Jamaica
Dunlop, John, Esq..... Edinburgh
Dunlop, John, Esq. True Teetotal Union

East, George, Esq..... Baptist Church, New-street, Marylebone
Eaton, Joseph, Esq. Bristol
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Edwards, Rev. James.... Nottingham
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Elliott, J. S., Esq..... Member of Com. of Brit. and For. A. S. Society
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Evans, James Cook, Esq. Ditto
Eve, Henry W., Esq.... Maldon

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 Ferguson, Joseph, Esq. Carlisle
 Finlay, James, Esq. Newcastle-on-Tyne
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 Forster, Matthew, Esq. Newcastle-on-Tyne
 Forster, Josiah, Esq. Member of Com. of Brit. and For. A. S. Society
 Forster, Robert, Esq. Ditto
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 Fox, Samuel, Esq. Member of Com. of Brit. and For. A. S. Society, and Delegate for Wellington, Somerset
 Fox, Samuel, Esq. Nottingham
 Fox, Charles, Esq. Falmouth Ladies' Auxiliary
 Francillon, James, Esq. Gloucester
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 Freeman, Rev. J. J. London Missionary Society
 Fuller, J. Cannings, Esq. General Agent for Fugitive Slaves, N. America

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 Goffe, Richard, Esq. Banbury
 Gotch, Rev. F. W., A.M. Herts and South Beds. Baptist Association
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 Grimshaw, Wm., jun., Esq. Ditto
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 Gurney, Samuel, Esq. Hon. Corresponding Member
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Haddon, John, Esq. Baptist church, Devonshire-square
 Hale, Joseph, Esq. Peace Society
 Halliday, Rev. E. Congregational church, Queen-street, Ratcliff
 Hamilton, John, Esq. Peckham
 Hamilton, John, jun., Esq. Ditto
 Harding, Rev. Joseph True Teetotal Union
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 Harris, Rev. John, D.D. Cheshunt College
 Harris, John, Esq. Peckham
 Harry, Courtney T., Esq. National Temperance Society
 Harvey, William, Esq. Aborigines Protection Society
 Hasler, John, Esq. Banbury Ladies' Association
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 Hicks, John, Esq. Chichester
 Hill, Charles, Esq. Wellingborough
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 Hodgson, Isaac, Esq. Leicester
 Holland, Rev. J. K. St. Ives (Hunts)
 Holland, Henry, Esq. Spilsby
 Holmes, William, Esq. Alton
 Holmes, Henry, Esq. Eastern New York Anti-Slavery Society
 Hooper, John, Esq. Southwark Ladies' A. S. Association
 Horne, J. Esq. Worcester
 Horsnail, William C., Esq. Strood
 Howells, Henry C. Pittsburg (Penn.) from coloured population
 Howitt, William, Esq. Darlington
 Hunt, William, Esq. Bath
 Hunt, Rev. John Congregational church, Brixton-hill
 Hyatt, Rev. Joseph Gloucester

Jackson, Rev. John Taunton
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 James, Rev. J. A. Birmingham
 James, Rev. William Bridgewater
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 Jeffries, Edward, Esq. Bridgewater
 Jenkyn, Rev. Dr. Coward College
 Johnson, Rev. J. H., A.M. Devizes
 Johnson, William, Esq. American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society
 Jones, William, Esq. Worcester
 Jowett, Robert, Esq. Leeds

Keep, Rev. John Oberlin Institute, U.S.
 Kellogg, Rev. H. H. Illinois State Anti-Slavery Society
 Kitson, G., Esq. Southwark Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association
 Knox, George, Esq. Home Missionary Society

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 Laishley, George, Esq. Southampton
 Laming, James, Esq. Rotterdam
 Langford, William, Esq. Hitchin
 Leask, Rev. William Chapmansdale (Frome) Independent church
 Leavitt, Rev. Joshua Massachusetts Abol. Soc., and Maine Aux. Soc.
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 Lee, John, Esq. LL.D. Peace Society
 Lewis, John, Esq. Cheltenham
 L'Instant, M. Hayti
 Logan, William C., Esq. Cork
 Longridge, Michael, Esq. Newcastle-on-Tyne
 Lowthrop, Sir Wm., Knt. Hull
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Lucas, Samuel H., Esq. Member of Com. of Brit. & For. A. S. Society
 Lushington, Rt. Hon. Dr. S. Ditto

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 Morgan, William, Esq. Birmingham
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 Morgan, Rev. T. H. Midland Baptist and Bond-street, Birmingham, Ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations
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 Morison, Rev. John, D.D. Congregational Board
 Morley, John, Esq. Cong. Union of England and Wales
 Morley, Samuel, Esq. Torquay
 Morley, John, jun., Esq. Ditto
 Mowry, W. H., Esq. Greenwich (Washington Co.) Cong. church, and Eastern New York A. S. Society
 Murch, Rev. Dr. Baptist Union
 Murphy, Mr. Sergt. M.P. Cork
 Murray, John, Esq. Glasgow Emancipation Society

Neilson, William, Esq. Well-street, Hackney, Cong. church
 Nicholls, Thomas, Esq. National Temperance Society
 Nicholls, Colonel, R. M. Glasgow

Oswald, J., Esq., M.P. Glasgow Emancipation Society

Padgett, James, Esq. Congregational church, Chelsea
 Palk, Edward, Esq. Southampton
 Palmer, Rev. W. S. Cong. Union of England and Wales
 Pearce, John, Esq. Tavistock
 Pearson, Benjamin, Esq. Manchester and Salford
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 Pease, Joseph, jun., Esq. Hon. Corresponding Member
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 Pennington, Rev. J. W. C. Connecticut (U.S.) Anti-Slavery Society
 Penny, John, Esq. Baptist church, Banbury
 Pewtress, Thomas, Esq. Baptist Union
 Phelps, Rev. Amos A. Massachusetts Abolition Society
 Pilkington, George, Esq. Hon. Corresponding Member
 Pinches, Thomas, Esq. Birmingham
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 Porter, Rev. Rippon Staines
 Porter, James, Esq. Eastern New York Anti-Slavery Society
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 Price, Rev. E. S. Abingdon
 Price, J. T., Esq. Falmouth Ladies' and Swansea A. S. Assoc.
 Priestman, Jonathan, Esq. Newcastle-on-Tyne

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 Ray, Sheppard, Esq. Ipswich, and Cong. church, Stowmarket
 Reed, Rev. Andrew Norwich
 Richardson, Rev. J. W. Hull, Durham, and Northumberland Association of Congregational Churches
 Richardson, James, Esq. Leeds
 Richard, Rev. H. Marlborough chapel, Old Kent-road
 Rigaud, Stephen, Esq. Peace Society
 Ritchie, Rev. Dr. Edinburgh
 Ritchie, Rev. James Ewing Wrentham Independent church
 Roff, Rev. Robert Cambridge
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 Ross, David R., Esq. M.P. Belfast
 Russell, Rev. Joshua Melksham
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 Simpson, William, Esq. Leeds
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 Smith, Rev. H. Baptist Church, Ashford

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Stephens, J. C., Esq. Maidstone
Sterry, Richard, Esq. Croydon
Sterry, Henry, Esq. Member of Com. of Brit. & For. A. S. Society
Stewart, John, Esq. Aberdeen
Stock, Rev. John. Chatham
Stuart, Capt. Charles. { Hon. Corr. Memb. and Delegate from New
Jersey State Anti-Slavery Society
Sturge, Joseph, Esq. Birmingham
Sturge, Edmund, Esq. Birmingham
Stutterd, J., Esq. Banbury
Styles, Robert, Esq. Chatham and Rochester
Sutherland, Dr. Liverpool
Sutton, William, Esq. Carlisle
Swaine, Edward, Esq. Home Missionary Society
Swan, Rev. Thomas Birmingham
Tappan, Lewis, Esq. American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society
Tatum, William, Esq. Rochester
Taylor, George, Esq. Wellingborough
Taylor, Rev. Henry Woodbridge
Tennant, J. E., Esq., M.P. Belfast
Thayer, Amedée. French Abolition Society
Tidman, Rev. Arthur. London Missionary Society
Thompson, Thomas, Esq. Taunton
Thomson, Rev. Patrick ... Chatham
Thoroughgood, Sam., Esq. Croydon
Townend, Thomas, Esq. ... Manchester and Salford
Trelawney, J., Esq., M.P. Tavistock
Trend, Rev. H. Bridgewater
Tuckett, Henry, Esq. Member of Com. of Brit. and For. A. S. Society
Twiss, Daniel, Esq. Rotterdam
Tylor, Charles, Esq. Stoke Newington Ladies' A. S. Association
Underwood, Rev. William. Praed-street Baptist church
Upton, Rev. William Herts and S. Beds. Baptist Association
Wall, E., Esq. Baptist Church, Banbury
Walker, Professor. Oberlin Institute and Ohio State A. S. Society
Warner, Charles B., Esq. Peace Society
Warner, John, Esq. Ditto
Warner, Robert, Esq. National Temperance Society
Watson, George, Esq. Banbury
Wayne, Rev. J. W. Hitchin
Webb, James, Esq. Belfast
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Wheeler, Samuel, Esq. Chatham and Rochester
Wheeler, Daniel, Esq. ... Bristol
Whitehorne, James, Esq. ... Baptist Missionary Society
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Whitwell, Edward, Esq. ... Kendal
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Wigham, John, jun., Esq. Edinburgh
Wild, Rev. J. Nottingham
Williamson, Wm., Esq. ... Derby
Wilson, James H., Esq. ... Aberdeen
Wilson, William, Esq. ... Torquay
Wilson, Rev. Hiram { Central Corresponding Committee for co-
loured population in Upper Canada
Wilson, Joshua, Esq. Congregational Union of England and Wales
Woodward, Rev. John ... { Mem. of Com., and delegate for Doncaster and
Cong. Union of England and Wales
Wright, Rev. T. S. New York Vigilance Committee
Wyatt, Henry, Esq. Stroud
Young, Rev. John, A.M. Mem. of Com. of Brit. and For. A. S. Society
Young, Joseph, Esq. Chatham

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE fourth Annual Meeting was held at Exeter Hall on Wednesday, 21st inst. About 3,000 persons were present. Among those present we noticed the Duchess of Sutherland, Countess of Carlisle, and a large party of ladies, Lady Noel Byron and Mrs. C. Harcourt, the Bishop of Norwich, the Hon. R. Howard, Viscount Ebrington, M.P., Sir G. Strickland, Bart, M.P., Sir F. Nicholson, Sir George Jackson, late of Rio Janeiro; the Right Hon. V. Smith, M.P., Wm. Ewart, Esq., M.P., Sharman Crawford, Esq., M.P., J. S. Trelawney, Esq., M.P., B. Hawes, Esq., M.P., the Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P., the Hon. Captain Plunket, the Hon. Captain Denman, Captain Lock, James Bandinell, Esq., Macgregor Laird, Esq., Colonel Nicholls, W. T. Blair, Esq., Richard Peek, Esq., Dr. Sutherland, J. S. Buckingham, Esq., Joseph Eaton, Esq., G. W. Anstie, Esq., Isaac Taylor, Esq., Peter Clare, Esq., J. T. Price, Esq., Henry Strickland, Esq., F. R. Cocking, Esq., Havana; — Athill, Esq., Antigua; E. Montefiore, Esq., Barbadoes; J. Laming, Esq., and D. Twiss, Esq., of Rotterdam; M. E. Verrue, Brussels; M. Kessler, M. Briffault, M. de Remusat, M. le Comte Dembisti; Professor Walker, W. Shotwell, A. Buffum, H. C. Howells, J. C. Fuller, H. Mowry, W. Johnson, and

L. Tappan, Esq., from the United States; E. N. Burton, Esq., Joseph Sturge, Esq., Joseph Cropper, Esq.; Amedée Thayer, from Paris; S. Bowley, Esq., Dr. Holt Yates, with the Rev. Drs. Doran, Murch, Ritchie, Wright, Beaumont, and Bennett; Rev. Messrs. Brock, Wayne, Burnet, Aveling, Hinton, Carlile, Curwen, Scales, Swan, Walford, Hamilton, Bennett, Morgan, Clark, from Fernando Po; M'Crear, Denham, Miall, Raban, Lyon, Adams, Jones, Birt, Taylor, Cuzner, and Pennington, Leavitt, Blanchard, Phelps, and Kellogg, from the United States; H. Wilson, from Canada, &c. &c. &c.

Several gentlemen of colour were present.

A few minutes after eleven o'clock, Lord Morpeth, attended by the Committee, entered the Hall, and was received with enthusiastic cheering.

B. HAWES, Esq., M.P., said that he had been requested to propose that Lord Morpeth should preside over the proceedings of the day. No man was more fitted, either by private worth or high ability, to occupy the chair at the meeting of a Society which was intended and calculated to promote the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world. (Cheers.)

Col. NICHOLLS (late Governor of Fernando Po) begged the honour of seconding the motion, which was put and carried by acclamation.

His LORDSHIP then took the chair, and spoke to the following effect:—Notwithstanding the flattering prelude to the motion which you have just been pleased to adopt, I feel that I could much more easily find good reasons why I should not fill this chair on the present occasion than why I should occupy it. It seems, however, to me, that it will be best not to attempt an uphill argument by contending against my own convictions, but to leave the whole responsibility to those who have been mainly instrumental in making the selection. If indeed, in the presence of so many whose pretensions to this distinction would have been far more numerous and far more powerful, in consequence of services rendered, of labour expended, of the successes achieved in the great cause which has now assembled us together, I could suggest anything in the way of excuse for standing where I now am, I might find it perhaps in the circumstance that it has happened to me within the space of a year to have had some opportunity of observing by personal inspection something of the operations and effects of slavery, (Hear,) under somewhat varying modifications and forms. It is true that I did not go to the New World across the Atlantic, where I spent a year, upon any mission or with any view specially directed to the subject of slavery; although so prominent an Institution in the relations of society could not fail, wherever I encountered it, to excite my attention and my interest. But as I have said, the observation even of so pregnant a subject as slavery can hardly be said to have been among the direct objects of my expedition. While I remained in the districts referred to, I did not judge it to be any part of my business to obtrude any opinions unasked and unbidden, (withhold them when asked or invited, or dissemble them at any time, I hope I never did,)—(cheers)—with respect to institutions and relations existing in the internal polity of the Governments, or in the recesses of the social life to which I was both admitted and welcomed. Nay, further, even since my return I do not feel, I have not felt myself authorized to take up the office of an adviser or admonisher to foreign communities, or to prescribe to them the course which seemed consonant with my own sense of duty, and which I might wish to see imposed upon them by theirs. Indeed, I think whoever in this country addresses himself to the subject of slavery abroad would do well to premise, and I hope I shall bear it in my own recollection, that whatever may have been the character of our later proceedings with respect to slavery; we can hardly yet consider ourselves qualified to use a tone of unmixt self-righteousness in our own case, or of unqualified reproach in that of others. (Hear.) Not to mention other grounds of national opprobrium, or other calls for national amendment, which unhappily are by no means wanting in our internal economy—(hear)—on the subject of slavery itself, I feel that the impression of the bye-gone stain has been too recently effaced, the records of it are too distinctly visible through long periods of our annals, commencing almost at the very origin of the slave-trade itself, staining, even, I fear, the glories of our virgin reign, culminating to the very height of infamy in the part we took in the assiento treaty; above all, riveting this great crime and curse upon our distant dependencies—especially upon the North American continent—whose retention and enlargement of it forms at this day a prominent subject of complaint. All these things, sincerely repented I believe, amply atoned for, we have reason to hope, still leave such a pressure of shame and responsibility behind them as ought, in propriety, to take from our lips all tendency to rail and revile, and to confine our accents to those of persuasion, of entreaty, of encouragement. (Cheers.) We do not pretend to feel ourselves authorised to cast the first stone; but we do feel constrained to say to others, "Go, and sin no more." (Cheers.) And as we do not pretend to an immunity from blame with respect to the past, so neither do we assume, notwithstanding what it has been permitted us by a gracious Providence to do, that we can safely afford to dispense with strict vigilance and persevering caution as to the future, in maintaining what has been done, and in performing what yet remains to be accomplished. That the steps which have been recommended, and I hope set on foot, for effecting the final abolition of all the remaining vestiges of ancient slavery in the East Indies,—for watching, at least, and guarding from all approach to abuse any scheme for the transfer of labour from Africa to the West Indies, should be fully carried out and completed;—that our negotiations with foreign powers shall not be compromised by any unwarrantable concessions, as by any misplaced compliances, even though they may come under so specious a title as "The Comity of Nations;" these and other points will be nowhere more keenly and more sensibly felt than among the present assembly. Still, however, after all, while I do not dissemble the load of responsibility which originally attaches to my own country; while I would refrain from gratuitous attack upon the internal polity of foreign states, yet I must say that here on the soil of England, under the roof of Exeter Hall, from the chair of a meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at the close of a convention which has summoned and collected its associates from every quarter of the world, from every condition, and class, and colour, with no qualification for admission, with no Shibboleth of partnership save an enmity to slavery wherever it is to be found, wherever it is to be attacked, wherever it is to be eradicated,—I feel that I must not and cannot be silent; but that it is a

real, a solemn duty—faithfully, soberly, and without exaggeration, that for the cause, for the truth's sake, and for your sakes, without unnecessary length or delay—to record the impressions which I derived from the opportunities I had, cursory and imperfect as I admit them to be, of perusing the features, and witnessing the workings of slavery upon its own soil, and beneath its own influences. (Cheers.) I had some transient glance of the system among the rice fields of Carolina, and the sugar plantations of Louisiana. I saw the system, perhaps, in its most matured development, at one of its prominent head-quarters, in the island of Cuba—upon those beautiful shores which nature seems to have intended and fitted for a terrestrial paradise; where, such is the prodigal richness of a tropical vegetation, and such the unclouded brightness of a tropical climate, that to live there I felt almost that I could be a slave, but not a slave-holder. (Immense cheers.) Returning to the American Union, I passed up the stream of the gentle Ohio; and I saw upon one bank a series of slave states, on the other a series of free states, and I am bound to say that the comparative appearance of progress and prosperity—of all that constitutes power and happiness, seemed to be just in that proportion which the most ardent friend of freedom would desire. (Cheers.) I then came to another and still fairer stream, the St. Lawrence, which separates not the free and slave states of the American Union, but the free states of the North American republic, and the provinces of the Queen of Great Britain. Now in which of these districts, under these designations, might it not at first, at least, be expected that a regard for human rights would most extensively and scrupulously prevail? I could not help being much struck with a circumstance which I saw mentioned in a book written by a person certainly not actuated by any unfavourable prepossessions against either the political or social institutions of America, or by any overwhelming prejudice in favour of a monarchical or aristocratical government,—I mean our excellent and accomplished countrywoman, Miss Martineau. It was stated by her that she was told by the captain of a steamer that plied on the Niagara river, immediately between the American and the British shores, that the finest sight in the world was the leap of the fugitive slave to the shore when the ship neared the British territory. (Loud cheers.) I address myself to you, the citizens of the United States; can reams of argument or torrents of declamation put more forcibly or vividly before you the whole gist of this great subject? How long will you let it be so? (Hear, hear.) Perhaps I ought to check myself; I know there are positive enactments of your constitution, which you are not at liberty to contravene; I know that there are obligations to independent and co-ordinate communities, by which you may be bound; but till you have proceeded to the utmost limits which the letter of your constitution allows, so long as you suffer the slave-gang, the line of your manacled slaves, to be seen under the actual shadow of the capitol of Washington, the seat of your central empire and your federal legislation; so long as you stretch the broad arm of your union—with a somewhat hesitating and uncertain hold, it is true—above the slave-trade itself, as it is carried on from one of your coasts to another, and even upon the bosom of that ocean which you are so fond, and so justly fond, of terming free; so long as you allow of these and other gratuitous compliances with the exactions of slavery, do you not deserve to have this picture, which I have just portrayed to you, set before you?—that the finest sight in the world—and mark well this was said within the very sound of the downward dash of Niagara—the finest sight in the world is the leap of a fugitive slave from the vessel that separates him for ever from the shore of your republic, and places him upon the soil subject to the crown of Great Britain? (Cheers.) He may have come toil-worn, crouching, panting, but the consciousness of acquired freedom, of a master left behind, and who never again can grasp him, gives to the mere motion and muscle of his limbs a play, an elasticity, and a moral effect that are nothing short of sublime. (Loud applause.) You must all of you be aware that a treaty has of late been concluded between the United States of America and this country. I hope that I shall not be disposed to deviate into any topics foreign to the immediate purposes of this meeting, or connected with the general politics of countries; still, to clear myself of misconception, I may observe that I am on the whole inclined to view the terms of that treaty more favourably than some of those with whom in public life I have been most accustomed to act: at all events, I cordially rejoice at its completion. But there are one or two points connected with it which seem to me to demand attentive and even jealous scrutiny. One of them relates to the class of persons whose case I have just been considering—(hear, hear)—the fugitive slaves into Canada. I believe that the stipulations for carrying into effect the mutual delivery of criminals, technically termed *extradition*, between one country and another, before they can be ratified, must come under the consideration of our parliament. I hope that there the particulars by which it is intended to carry them out will be most carefully considered. (Hear, hear.) It may be—probably is in itself—a most desirable arrangement, suiting the convenience as well as the comity of nations; but especial care ought to be taken lest there should be allowed to lurk in its provisions any loophole for facilitating the re-delivery of the fugitive slave. (Cheers.) Nothing can be more distinct—I need hardly labour to impress upon this meeting—than the fugitive from slavery and the fugitive from justice: it is sufficient to name them—slavery and justice. The danger is, lest the plea for the one should wear the semblance of the plea for the other. I am inclined to hold, and I believe I am justified by the formal decision of our colonial authorities in so holding, that nothing which is essential to effect the escape of the slave,—the appropriation, for instance, of his master's horse; of what his master would call his property, the slave having none—the wages he ought to receive for his labour, therefore of so much of his money as may be necessary to speed his flight—of his master's clothes, for the clothes are considered not his own but his master's, at least, frequently so;—nothing, in short, essential to his flight ought to constitute a ground of his redelivery by our authorities to his master. I am myself disposed to think that any conventional arrangement made under such circumstances ought to have made special exemption of the case of slaves, (loud cheers,) even though they should be duly charged with a distinct criminal offence which would have made a free man subject to capture and delivery, and for this plain reason, because in the case of the free man we consign him to the ordinary course of settled, recognised, and preascertained law; while in the case of the slave we cannot indeed be sure that we do not consign him to far more than legal retri-

bution. (Cheers.) There is terrible experience to prove this, the details of which I do not feel called upon to trouble you with, but which must be but too familiar to many whom I address. However, what I have now said has not been with a wish to incite this country to contravene any engagement by which we may be already bound. I have said it with a view of specially directing attention to the provisions by which it may be designed to carry it out; and in any case I rejoice to think that this article of the treaty is only to continue in force for a limited period, so that opportunity may be given for its revision if not for its abrogation, if during the term of its continuance, experience should convict it of having ministered to abuse in this most important and delicate particular to which I have adverted. The only other point which I will just in passing mention in connexion with the treaty, or rather with the negotiation of Washington, is the case of the *Creole*. The case itself is left, as I understand it, precisely as I would have it; that is, in the unquestioned confirmation of the act of our colonial authorities, and the unconditional freedom of the insurgent slaves who entered into the British waters; but in the letters that passed between Mr. Webster and our plenipotentiary, some hints were dropped of fresh instructions being issued to our colonial governors. If such instructions, with any variety as to the interpretation of existing laws and obligations, should be issued, I do trust that the attention of the friends of liberty will be steadily directed to their contents, (cheers,) for if there is one principle, one position which I hope that the people of this country will ever hold fast and keep impregnable, it is, that upon no inch of ground within the lawful jurisdiction of England the foot of a slave shall be ever planted, (loud cheers,) and that the full immunities of the laws of our own realm, the free access to the right of *habeas corpus* may never be diluted, by any accommodation, interpretation or compromise, however lowly may be the suppliant who seeks it, or however powerful the claimant who pursues him. (Loud cheers.) I rejoice to hear, and I am sure that the meeting will also rejoice to hear, that the most recent despatches from abroad which have arrived seem to hold out indications of a growing and favourable opinion with respect to the abolition of slavery where, perhaps, it least would have been expected, in the republic of Texas. (Hear, hear.) I am not sufficiently conversant with the details, at all events they are of too recent development to allow of our speculating with any certainty upon their precise character, or their possible results. But if there is truth in them, there are collateral circumstances connected with the question of slavery in Texas, which would invest them with the deepest interest. It would be almost impossible to calculate, or foresee, even, the beneficial consequences; but on this, as on every other subject, it will be the part of wisdom not so much to anticipate as to observe, and follow out the wonder-working hand of Heaven. If those who are assembled here feel, I trust they do, an assured confidence that the time will come when the full sun of freedom shall shine upon all the children of slavery; it is not for us to pronounce whether on the horizon that is now darkest, the rays of the dawning may not first burst forth. (Cheers.) I must remember that ample, and indeed unbounded, as the topic of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade all over the world must be, still I should very unworthily occupy the chair in which your kindness has placed me, if I were to take up a disproportionate period of the time for which, and for more than which there are so many adequate claims. It is, indeed, impossible to look upon an assembly like this, without the deepest and most thrilling interest, considering all of whom it is composed, and all at which it aims. It has not been brought together for any purpose of festive celebration, or for the ordinary business of men, or for the common-place politics of nations. It is a great Amphictyonic council of human freedom, met however for nobler purposes than ever animated the conclaves of Greece, because its purpose is to rescue the miserable, to raise the abject,—in one word, to bid the slave go free. (Cheers.) Its name and title make no express reference to religion, but I doubt not you will agree with me in thinking that it could have been brought together under no other symbol than the cross of the Redeemer. It comprises in the thick array behind me, many of the successful veterans in our own past struggles—I would, indeed, that it could have comprised the most successful and enduring of them all—I need not mention Thomas Clarkson (cheers); and not to name others in the full maturity of life and vigour, I wish it could have comprised one who has been our energetic and indefatigable fellow-labourer in all our contemporary struggles—Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton. (Cheers.) These men have lived to see our country adopt and complete their work, and are now looking with intense and kindred earnestness to see the same high enterprise prosper among the nations. Mingled with you are some of the representatives of the anti-slavery feeling amongst our nearest neighbours—the great and civilised nation of France. (Cheers.) It has been our lot to measure our forces together on many a battle field, and in many an ocean conflict; but I trust that those times of the world have now come, in spite of all that may have been said or may have been felt, which are to see us embarked in a higher and holier rivalry. (Cheers.) Those of them who have favoured us with their presence this day, may safely assure their ardent and accomplished countrymen that they will have met within these precincts, at least, with no desire for fresh enlargement of national territory, and with no disposition to grasp at exclusive commercial monopolies. (Cheers.) We ask them to accompany us in putting an end to that slavery which is a more dark and abiding mischief even than the earthquake which has desolated their Guadalupe; to combine with us in sweeping from the common sea the bloody slave flag, and in so glorious competition, I trust the feeling of every one will be, that it is right for us to do all in our own power, and yet rejoice to see ourselves out-stripped. (Cheers.) I trust that our friends the Dutch and the Danes are taking measures for the rapid, let me say final extinction of slavery in their colonial territories. (Applause.) We have also the gratification of seeing amongst us many delegates from—perhaps I may not call them neighbours; for at least they have testified their sincerity to the cause by a voyage of from 3000 to 4000 miles across the Atlantic—many delegates from America. (Cheers.) They came to show their sincerity in that cause which—again to omit the names of younger soldiers under the banner—has been commended to them by the last accents of the dying Channing—(cheers)—and is still inspired by the aged but untiring energies of John Quincy Adams. (Cheers.) I have feared, perhaps, that in the course of the remarks which I have been

led to make, I may have reflected with something of acrimony—for which I believe they would be the first to acquit me—upon American slavery. But at the conclusion of these observations, I must call upon all my hearers to render the homage due to the efforts of American Anti-Slavery. I should be the last of all persons to derogate from the honours justly earned by our own philanthropists and statesmen; yet there are few who can adequately estimate the peculiar perils and trials which beset every step in the path of the American abolitionist. (Hear, hear.) Slavery is not with them as it was with us—with an ocean interposed—but it is at their doors. Even where there is no slavery, free coloured persons are not a rare sight as with us, but they exist in swarms; and I am not sure whether I was not, during my sojourn in America, more painfully struck with the condition and treatment of the free coloured people—(hear, hear)—than even of the slaves themselves. I knew that slavery existed, and I went prepared for it; but I shall never forget the sort of swell of heart I felt upon the very first evening of my arrival in Charleston. When, upon hearing, a short time after the sun set, a deep-toned bell, and on inquiring what it was, was told that it was the curfew, I began to think that the world had gone back, and that we had got to the feudal times of the old world. (Laughter.) After the tolling of that bell no free person of colour could be seen in the streets without the privileged pass of a white person. (Cries of "shame.") I am not here to maintain the propriety or uphold the expediency of every thing that has been done by American abolitionists; all I contend for is, that they live in circumstances of the utmost delicacy, difficulty, and danger; and at all events they are fully competent to defend themselves. What is it that they have not arrayed against them? Fashion—and let no one deride its potent influence in any country—ridicule, the withdrawal of business, the loss of friends, the severance of domestic ties, reproach, the imputations—to which noble minds are particularly sensitive—of hostility to their country, personal violence, the scourge, the bowie-knife. (Hear, hear.) These are some of the dangers that beset them; and as if this were not enough, English writers, English visitors, English residents, seduced probably by the frank and graceful hospitality of the southern planters, to the charms of which I am fully sensible,—they feel, too, that they must join in the jeer, and swell the chorus of obloquy. (Hear, hear.) And what is still worse—I speak it to the shame of a people for whom, in other respects, I feel the most cordial sympathy and attachment, and yet I cannot conceal the truth—that a great proportion of the Irish emigrants are classed amongst the most determined opponents to the advancement of the negro race. (Hear, hear.) But in spite of all such obstacles—aye, and of greater than these, that noble band will go on with gradually swelling numbers, with growing hopes, with self-sustaining, because heaven supplied energies. Tokens and symptoms of success are gathering every day and every hour around your way. It is not for me or for any mortal lips to speed you as you go. If you do want an incitement, I might supply it in the words of one of the tragic writers of our common language:—

"——— The poor forsaken ones,
Shall they be left a prey to savage power,
And cry to heaven for help, and not be heard?
Gallant, generous band,
Go on, pursue, assert the sacred cause;
Stand forth, ye proxies of all-ruling Providence;
Saints shall assist ye with prevailing prayers,
And warring angels combat on your side!"

(Loud and long-continued cheers.)

JOHN SCOBLE, Esq., then read an abstract of the Report, which embraced a condensed view of the progress of the anti-slavery cause during the past year. As the Report, with its appendices, will shortly appear, we shall content ourselves, at the present moment, with simply giving our readers a syllabus of its contents:—The Slave-trade—its probable extent with the Spanish colonies and Brazil—The progress of the Anti-Slavery cause in Great Britain—Abolition of Slavery in British India, the British settlements in the East, and in Scinde; in the United States, Holland, France, Spain, Portugal, Uruguay and Tunis, &c. &c.

JOSIAH FORSTER, Esq., in presenting the accounts of the Treasurer, who was unavoidably absent, said,—Permit me to allude to an interesting fact adverted to in the Report, namely, the progress which this cause is making in France. In the course of the last few months there has been presented to the French Chamber a report of a commission which has been sitting for some years. This report contains the outline of two measures, upon the details of which I will not enter, for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies. (Hear, hear.) I trust that France will bear in mind that the eyes of anti-slavery friends in Great Britain and throughout the world are anxiously observing the progress of the cause in that nation. It is of the utmost importance to the cause of human freedom in Spain, in Holland, and even in the United States, that France should act fully up to the example of England. (Cheers.) From the Treasurer's accounts, it appeared that there is a balance against the Society of 465*l.* due to the Treasurer; in addition to which there were liabilities to the extent of about 400*l.*

The Bishop of NORWICH rose and spoke to the following effect:—Though pressed for time, I could not resist the satisfaction, in moving the first resolution, of saying a few words on so great a cause as this. The feeling ought to be implanted in every British heart, that slavery should be abolished. There was a time when the eloquence of Wilberforce was requisite to rouse the dormant energies with reference to this great cause. His labours were the dawning rays of that day when the sun first rose upon the prospect of negro emancipation; that sun is now rising to its meridian height, and God grant that it may never set until bondage is universally exchanged for freedom. (Cheers.) The spectacle before me assures me that the great end is advancing; but I fear that, notwithstanding all our ardent anticipations, we never shall see the termination of slavery. I wish I may be wrong, but I must confess that I dare not look forward to that time. There are tares sown among the wheat. The tares are self-interest; and who can ever anticipate the time when that shall be choked and chilled? I fear that the bane of self-interest will last as long as the world shall endure, and that it will continue to operate in the perpetuation of slavery. (Cries of "No.") I hope I am wrong; I rejoice to be contradicted. (Loud cheers.) But be

that as it may, it is our duty to counteract self-interest as much as we can. It is the duty of all who profess the name of Christianity to endeavour to annihilate slavery, root and branch, wherever it may be found. (Applause.) It is the duty of all the Catholics, the Protestants, the Dissenters of all denominations, to rise in support of this hallowed and blessed cause. Though, as I have said, I cannot hope for the entire extinction of slavery, yet I do look forward to certain circumstances which may tend to promote our cause; I refer to civilization, and civilized education. I look forward, in spite of the disappointment that we have lately met with, to the time when good men of all persuasions will meet together to educate the people of our land. (Hisses and cheers.) I thought I heard a hiss when I first touched upon the subject that has been drowned in applause and acclamation. (Renewed hisses and cheers.) Let us, with religion in our hands, endeavour to show forth the glory of God, by doing to others as we would be done by. Let every man, of whatever creed or persuasion, recollect this hallowed and blessed passage of Scripture, and depend upon it not only shall we live together as united Christian brethren, but if ever we effect the extinction of slavery, it must be by observing this rule. His lordship, after moving the adoption of the Report, and the appointment of the office-bearers of the Society for the ensuing year, retired amidst loud cheers.

The Rev. T. SCALES, of Leeds, in seconding the resolution, said,—Yorkshireman as I am, I trust the meeting will allow me to express the pleasure which I feel—I would not say pride, though I fear it is near akin to it—to see your lordship occupy that chair. I only regret that you do not hold your seat in that House—(loud cheers)—which wants one of its best men and one of its brightest ornaments, so long as your lordship is absent there—(renewed cheers)—and which, I fear, will continue to go on wrong, until men of your lordship's generous, noble, and patriotic principles fill it. (Cheers.) The cause in which we are engaged is one which ennoble, dignifies, and, I had almost said, inspires all those who honestly take part in it. I can, at least, claim the privilege and honour of having been a humble labourer in it for more than thirty years. (Applause.) In 1813, in the town where I then resided, I ventured, when meetings such as these were rare, to convene a public assembly; and because no other person would do it, I took the chair; and because no other person was prepared to advocate the cause, I was the only speaker. (Laughter.) We, however, adopted a petition to Parliament, which was very numerously signed; and I hope I may say that from that day to the present I have not been a recreant. I have never seen occasion to change my opinions in reference to emancipation. (Cheers.) To labour in a cause kindred and germane to this,—that of preaching the gospel of Christ, and to labour in this cause, has been my highest pleasure and my richest reward. As long as there is work to be done, and I have ability to do it, nothing would be so painful to me as to be cashiered and prevented taking part in this benevolent enterprise. (Applause.) Till this arm is palsied, and unable to act—till this heart is cold, and ceases to beat, I do hope that I shall be permitted to feel and to act with you in this noble, generous, and glorious undertaking. (Cheers.) But I may perhaps be permitted to retract that wish. I would rather, notwithstanding what has been advanced, cherish the hope that labour, and service, and sacrifice to promote an end will be exchanged for pleasure, and joy, and gratitude to God for success; and that we shall meet in one great and glorious convention to celebrate its ultimate, its universal consummation—the jubilee of the world, when, north and south, east and west, freedom and liberty shall be everywhere established, and the last fettered slave go free. (Cheers.) This is the consummation to which we are hastening. We have already seen the bright and glowing dawn of this glorious day. The Sun of righteousness—your lordship has called it the sun of freedom—has risen, and is scattering its beams in every direction. They penetrate the dark places of the earth, which are full of the habitations of cruelty, and the darkness shall be chased away. From what has been accomplished we may warrantably anticipate what will yet be effected, but with this difference, our progress will be marked with greatly accelerated rapidity. Every victory we gain in the cause increases our strength, and multiplies our fellow labourers—the bold and noble phalanx of Christian heroes who engage in this desperate struggle. (Cheers.) Every victory we gain strikes terror into every slaveholder in every region of the world. (Applause.) The results of our Convention are great and encouraging. We have heard the report of this Society for one year, and we have been delighted at the tidings it contains. Let me recommend the perusal of our reports; do not when you receive them lay them aside, but consider them as worthy of investigation; for they will unfold facts and details of the greatest interest, and such as ought to induce you to take an active part in these benevolent labours. We have, however, been called within the last few days to review our moral victories not through one but three years, and as we have contemplated them, we have thanked God and taken courage. (Cheers.) We have been held as it were in admiration, and have exclaimed, "What hath God wrought?" It is not out of order or of place here to refer to the Convention, for I cannot in my own mind separate the society from it. I may be told they are not identical—true, they are no more identical than are parent and child, (laughter,) but in my view they are just as much so. (Applause.) I do think that the child has no reason to disown or be ashamed of its parent, nor has the parent any reason to blush on owning the child. (Cheers.) One Convention is three years old, the other only seven days; but let me express the hope that this little infant of seven days may be like the infant Hercules, and may have strength enough to struggle with the monster serpent while yet in its cradle. I do think that there is strength enough in its arm to give a blow which shall fall hard and heavy on the monster slavery, and nerve enough in its hand to give it a deadly grip. The doings of this Convention, at the sittings of which we were gratified to see your lordship, will stand out, and deservedly so, in the records of the world, and will have their influence upon it. The seven days of 1843, like the ten days of 1840, will be the subject of memorial; and while the doings of blood and carnage shall be marked with stigma, and reproach, and infamy, the doings of such a convention shall be held in everlasting remembrance, (cheers,) and be cherished in the memory of those who shall live in future ages in those regions that are now cursed with slavery, but which will then be blessed and happy regions under the influence of full possessed Christianity, and the wings of heaven-born sister freedom.

(Cheers.) May I be allowed to refer to those parts of the proceedings of the Convention when we were favoured with the privilege of listening to coloured men—the ministers of religion—to Pennington, and Fuller, and Duggan: and also to the generous, the disinterested testimony of our American friends—such men as Buffin, Tappan, and others, who spoke of the moral and intellectual and religious character of the men of colour in the United States, and of the elevation which they may acquire. When I listened to those statements, I felt that we were fully vindicated and justified in all the toils, and labours, and services, which we might have rendered to this sacred cause; and more than that, that we were richly and abundantly rewarded for them; while, at the same time, we had evidences enough to inspire us with the warmest confidence that the consummation is not far distant, and that ere long we shall see the world regenerated, freedom everywhere established, and those now held in bondage brought to the enjoyment of liberty. (Cheers.) But I have said more than enough. I will merely express the wish I cherish that we may all prove faithful to our profession, all be the adherents to this sacred cause. (Cheers.) I feel peculiar pleasure in seconding a resolution which has been prepared by that honoured and honourable man, the Bishop of Norwich, being myself the pastor of a Congregational Church at Leeds, and claiming on New Testament principles the title of a bishop. (Loud cheers.) The only point of difference between my honoured predecessor and myself—and I scarcely wish to allude to it—is this, that I do not sympathise with his feelings of regret at the defeat of Sir James Graham's bill, (loud cheers, with one or two hisses,) to which I understood, or might misunderstand his lordship to refer. (Renewed cheers.)

The Rev. AMOS PHELPS (from America), in supporting the resolution said,—When Great Britain passed her law giving freedom, as the title of the bill ran, to the enslaved throughout the British possessions—at all events giving freedom in point of fact to the negroes in the British West India islands,—I was engaged in the employment of the press, and as a lecturer in the anti-slavery cause. Whenever I came in contact with the adherents and supporters of the slave system in our own country, and made allusion to what Great Britain had done, they were sure to meet every thing I had to say by telling me to look to the East Indies. (Hear, hear.) I met the argument as well as I could, and in many cases I succeeded in taking the weapon out of the hands of my opponents. I could not, however, but regret that I was reduced to that necessity. I then sympathised very deeply with the slave, I do so now; but to-day I begin to pity the slaveholder; for in what has been done towards the abolition of slavery in British India, I have proof that the slaveholder has been deprived of another of the weapons by which he has waged his warfare against freedom in the United States. (Cheers.) In the abolition of slavery in British India, I see an earnest and pledge of the fact, that so far as Great Britain is concerned, she intends to go forward, and to the extent of her influence and her power to take one weapon after another out of the hands of the friends and supporters of oppression in every part of the world, until they are all exhausted. (Cheers.) I can now give additional weight to the moral influence of England upon the conscience of the slaveholder. Let Great Britain then go forward, and though she may not always have been, and may not now be resistless to all the nations of the earth in her commercial, her political, and her martial power, yet the day is not distant when, in her moral and religious influence, for every purpose of freedom and humanity whatever, she will be resistless. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried.

The Rev. J. LEAVITT, from America, rose to move the second resolution, and said,—The abolition of slavery in British India, of which the fact has just been communicated, strikes us, on the first impression, with amazement at the ease with which it has been done. (Hear.) The emancipation of a few hundreds of thousands of slaves in the West Indies seemed the work and the worthy work of an age. (Hear.) The energies, the benevolence, the piety, the justice, and the wisdom of a great nation were employed for the best part of half a century in achieving the deed, and when it was done, the world admitted that great means and great energies had been adequately employed in bringing about a great result. (Cheers.) But on reaching your shores from the Western Continent, what did I learn? That millions of slaves had been emancipated in British India with the simple dash of a pen. (Cheers.) There is nothing human that has ever approached so near as this to the sublimity of that grand Divine transaction when light first appeared on our earth. (Cheers.) I am next struck with the calmness that prevails everywhere at the announcement of this astounding and glorious fact. It is what we were expecting to take place, although it appeared yet distant; it has come upon us as it were unawares, and we simply rejoice in its advent, and go forward to our future labours and our future triumphs. (Applause.) My respected colleague has alluded to the influence which it will have in our own beloved country. The influence which we have received from British abolition is ever to be remembered with honour. We have had your instructions, your testimony, and your example. Of all the testimony that can reach the heart of man, the most affecting is that of example. (Hear.) Of all the instruction that we can receive, the most lucid and the most comprehensive is that of conduct. (Hear.) This example has peculiar force, when, as in the present case, and we glory in saying it, it is not the example of strangers and foreigners, but of our honoured mother. (Loud applause.) Who amongst us is not conscious of the efficacy of maternal precept, seconded by maternal conduct? We shall never in our country abolish slavery, merely because you tell us it is right. We know it is right; the slave-holders know it is right; they need not your instructions on that subject. Every person who buys or holds a slave has that in his own bosom which tells him that he is committing a crime against God and man. (Cheers.) We shall never abolish slavery in the United States merely because you press us to it. There is a spirit in the American bosom—I do not know whether we got it by inheritance (laughter)—that is loath to yield to the dictation of assumed superiority; but there is a spirit there which can yield to the persuasions of maternal love, and which will yield to the kind solicitation of a consistent and honoured parent. (Cheers.) Your lordship expressed the hope that in the United States, amid all the entanglements and discouragements to which we are subjected by the peculiarity of our political institutions, we should never be suffered to rest until we had carried our government up to the very verge of its constitutional power in advancing the abolition of slavery.

That petition was presented to the Congress of the United States at its very first session, headed by the honoured name of Benjamin Franklin—(cheers)—and although the sentiment was too long smothered under the influence of political expediency, yet I am happy to inform your lordship that there is now a noble band in my country who are resolved, with a spirit that I trust nothing can conquer, to give the nation no rest until the constitutional influence of the Government has been exhausted in promoting this glorious object. (Cheers.) And may I say in return, that we hope the influence of the world's convention, and of the advancing progress of the cause, will lead the government of Great Britain, by whomsoever administered, and the government of France, by whomsoever administered, and the governments of the civilized world, wherever administered, to go up to the utmost verge of their national prerogative in limiting the encroachments, in removing the wrongs, and in hastening the extinction of slavery over the whole earth. (Loud cheers.) We know in our country the machinations of the slave interest; you are not strangers to it here; but be assured that with the advantages which it has in the United States, and the influence by which it can operate in other countries, it will leave no stone unturned to introduce difficulty in the onward march of freedom. (Hear, hear.) What I wish, however, is, that the nature of slavery may be fully understood, and may be clearly recognised and firmly maintained by all the people and by all the governments of the world. You and we have denominated the African slave-trade "piracy," not because we have given it a nickname—it is no legal fiction—it is not a misnomer; we have called it piracy because it is piracy, because it is a war against humanity everywhere; and if it is piracy, then slavery, which is but the continuation of the original wrong, is itself a continued war against the rights and happiness of man. (Cheers.) That is slavery; and when it is so understood and so maintained, then we shall have it in its proper position before the world. If there are compacts; if the pirate has yet bond for the pound of flesh near the heart of freedom; and if the court is obliged to award the judgment conformable to the writing, let him have his pound of flesh if he dare to take it. But if he sheds one drop of righteous blood in taking his bond, let him meet the righteous consequences. (Cheers.) Let me add in the ear of the slaveholder, that if it proves, in the prosecution of his bond, that he is conspiring and plotting against the life of human freedom, he must meet his just and deserved doom. (Cheers.) The resolution which I have been requested to present refers to the propriety of ulterior legislation, for the security of the great boon that has been now granted to the enslaved subjects of Great Britain in India. The spirit of slavery is not easily killed, as you well know; and it requires the utmost energy, combined with the utmost vigilance on the part of the friends of freedom in England, and of the government of Great Britain, to watch the development of this new-gained liberty, that they may grow in their just proportion under the fostering protection of just and equal laws. The functions of government, as I understand them, are not merely that the government should do no wrong; merely, that it should withdraw its sanction and protection from the most atrocious villany upon the face of the earth; but it is the duty of government to protect the humblest individual in the remotest village of India, amidst the encroachments of the proud and the powerful. (Loud cheers.) The resolution moved was as follows:—

"That, whilst this meeting would record, with devout gratitude to Almighty God, the fact, that the government of this country have disavowed their connexion with the system of slavery in British India, and the British settlements in the East, and would respectfully tender to them and to their predecessors in office, their grateful acknowledgments for the measures which have been taken for the accomplishment of this great and good work, they would at the same time respectfully, but earnestly, press on the existing authorities, both in Great Britain and India, the duty of adopting such supplementary measures as shall be necessary effectually to prevent the system of slavery and the internal slave-trade from again rising up under new forms and pretences; and as shall fully secure to the millions who have been virtually or absolutely enfranchised by the late enactments, the personal, social, and civil rights which accrue to them thereby, and the protection which their new circumstances imperatively demand."

Sir G. STREICKLAND, Bart., M.P., in seconding the resolution, said,—In the few observations I shall make, I beg distinctly to be understood that in them I have no reference whatever to any party or personal politics. I see enough of that in another place—indeed so much of it, that I am thoroughly disgusted with it. I never look to our vast empire in the East, to which the resolution exclusively refers, without feeling in some degree both shame and horror. It ought not to be in the state in which it is at the present moment. It seems to me to be ordained by a merciful Providence, that as civilization and intelligence advance, so a country becomes powerful and invincible. We see that hundreds of thousands in the East cannot withstand a few hundreds of British Europeans; and therefore it is,—whether justly or not, I will not stop to inquire,—that we have become possessed of our vast empires in that part of the globe, and we are continually adding to those dominions. But if British intelligence, British arms, British power can do this, ought not those nations who are subjected to our sway to have not only the disadvantages of that civilization, but the blessings of it likewise? (Hear, hear.) Has not the whole of India a right to say, we have not been wisely and mercifully governed? Do we not see up to this moment slavery existing in various departments, and slavery of the most disgusting kind? Moreover, do we not see in every five years hundreds and thousands of wretched beings swept away by the horrors of famine? Whence does that arise? Have we not proved in civilised Europe that famines take place under ancient and unenlightened governments, but that as civilization advances, as intelligence increases, as commerce becomes more free and expansive, the horrors of famine cease? Is it not then a fair inference, that where famine exists to such an extent as it does in India, all the advantages of European intelligence have not been enjoyed in that vast empire? (Hear, hear.) The Bishop of Norwich took rather a desponding view on the subject of the continuance of slavery. Much as I admire the character of that right rev. prelate, I do not agree with him on this point. He tells you that the tares are sown along with the wheat, and that as long as the human race exists these tares will be found. But does not the progress of civilization and intelligence instruct us that those tares should be rooted out, and the abominations attending them swept away? (Cheers.) The

Bishop of Norwich says that these tares are the interests and the bad passions of men—the love of gain. One of the means, therefore, that we ought to take to get rid of the evil of slavery is to touch the purses and the pockets of those who are interested in it. (Hear, hear.) If they will not abolish slavery by any other means, we must consign them to utter ruin. Will not the free states of India produce cotton and sugar at a much less value than they can do it? (Cheers.) It has been proved by undoubted documents that in India you may have good labour for 2d. a day, or 3s. a year; but that if you transfer a Hill Coolie to the West Indies, he costs you 37l. a year. Now, as 3s. is less than 37l., so certainly may we be able to prove to the understandings and the feelings, to the pockets and the purses, of the whole world, that slavery is an unprofitable sin. (Cheers.) I do not despond, therefore, and why should I? I believe that it was the early speeches of Wilberforce that produced impressions on my mind, which have never been effaced. But what were the prospects of this great question when he and those who embarked with him in it began to discuss this subject? No rational being could then see the time when any one step would be taken in the accomplishment of this great object; under his banners, however, many many thousands were enrolled; and it would astonish some of them if they could rise out of their graves and see that the manacles have at last been struck off the arms of the wretched and the miserable in so many parts of the world, and that the slave has been set at liberty. Is not this an encouragement to perseverance? I exhort you, therefore, to persevere; and I am sure that one source of satisfaction on your death-beds will be this, that you have done all in your power to ameliorate the condition of your fellow-creatures. (Cheers.)

J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq., in supporting the resolution, suggested that the best mode of working out the object in view—that of the abolition of slavery, would be for Great Britain to enter into no treaty, and to hold no communion with any nation that continued to retain slaves. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried.

J. STURGE, Esq., rose to move the third resolution, and observed,—Such is the extent to which slaves have been illegally introduced into Cuba, and we believe also into the Brazils, that nearly two-thirds of the whole slave population are considered to be held in bondage, not only contrary to the law of God, but contrary to the law of man. I do not participate in the gloomy feelings of the Bishop of Norwich. (Cheers.) The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was established four years ago, and while we wish to give full credit to the benevolent intentions of other societies, we are particularly anxious that the public should know that the ground taken by this Institution is, that as long as slavery exists there is no reasonable hope of the abolition of the slave-trade, and that slavery must be abolished by moral, religious, and pacific means. We are not responsible for the failure of the benevolent designs of the African Civilization Society; many of us feared and anticipated that result; but because a society, the formation of which was dictated by the most benevolent motives, and which was set on foot under the patronage of royalty, in this Hall, has failed, we ought not to give way to despondency and discouragement. (Hear.) We are not responsible for the misdirected attempts to put down the slave-trade by armed cruisers. I for one believe that it is impolitic, as with my views of Christian principle I believe it is forbidden, under the Christian dispensation. (Cheers.) After the expenditure of nearly twenty millions of money, and the destruction of thousands of the lives of our fellow-subjects, the horrors of the African slave-trade are still going on with unmitigated severity. The cases brought forward lately are too numerous to adduce; but I will read four lines from a letter dated this very year, containing a description of the horrors attendant on this traffic. The ship in question sailed from Quillimane, with 850 slaves, all children, and landed only 620, having lost 230 on the passage. The cost of slaves at Quillimane was 4l. sterling; but the price obtained on landing was 75l. I ask whether, with such a temptation, there is the slightest hope of putting an end to the slave traffic—(hear)—while men are found ready to receive this stolen property? The British public, while they have pointed to slave-dealers as men to be execrated, have viewed with comparative indifference the persons who have received the stolen property. The great object of this Society is to unite with friends in every part of the world to put down, if possible, by the influence of public opinion, slave-holding itself. Far be it from us to wish improperly to interfere with foreign nations; but it is one beautiful feature of this society that it recognises the whole human family as brethren without distinction of colour or clime. (Cheers.) If we find brethren on the other side of the Atlantic engaged in the anti-slavery cause and struggling with the difficulties with which it is there surrounded, are we not justified in holding out to them the right hand of fellowship, and assuring them of our readiness to aid them in their enterprise? With reference to those who are surrounded by the darkness of slavery, from which we are mercifully exempt, I would say, Am I your enemy because I tell you the truth? But I do believe that those who knowingly receive the produce of the uncompensated labour of stolen men are not held guiltless in the sight of God. I am one of those who maintain, perhaps to the fullest extent, what are called the principles of free trade. I am an advocate not only for free trade in commerce, but for free trade in legislation. (Loud cheers.) I contend, however, that it is perfectly consistent with these principles to refuse individually to take stolen goods, and that it is my duty, as far as I have any influence, to induce my countrymen to do the same. I am therefore quite ready to share the odium incurred by my friends who felt it their duty, on a former occasion, and I trust they will do so again, to resist any attempt to encourage the introduction of the produce of slave-labour; and known to be such into this country. (Applause.) I think, also, that those individuals in this country who make articles which they know are intended to be employed in the traffic of slaves, or the slave-trade, are not guiltless. A neighbour of mine in Birmingham brought to me the fetter which I now exhibit, and stated that application had been made to him to manufacture three tons' weight of them. Knowing that they were to be sent to Cuba he was aware of the purpose for which they were wanted, and thought that when once put on the leg of a slave, it would be impossible to effect their removal. I have since conversed with a friend from Cuba, from whom I have as-

certained that they can be removed, but not without great violence and consequently severe injury to the limb. My informant refused to execute the order, (cheers,) but there were others found who did it. I put it to the feelings of the audience present, which acted the most Christian part? (Loud applause.) I entertain the fullest confidence that free labour, placed on an equal footing with slave-labour, must inevitably succeed in putting down slavery all over the world. But in Cuba and the Brazils, such is the amount of labour exacted that these innocent victims of oppression are being killed at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum. If instead of being Africans, they were Englishmen, or English children, or the members of our own families, I ask should we feel justified in taking the products of their labour, knowing the inhumanity that was exercised towards them? (Hear.) Though I believe that sound judgment would settle this question, yet if it does not, I am sure that the heart will. (Cheers.) The resolution moved was as follows:—

“That this meeting deeply deplore the fearful extent to which the African slave-trade, especially with Brazil and the Spanish colonies of Cuba and Puerto Rico, is prosecuted at the present time, in defiance of existing treaties and laws, and would encourage her Majesty's government, by such wise and pacific measures as may be necessary, and shall be most effectual, to secure the faithful discharge of the obligations arising out of them for the prevention of that iniquitous traffic (the continuance of which confirms the principle, that while slavery exists, the slave-trade cannot be put down,) for the liberation from slavery of all those Africans who had been illicitly introduced contrary to their stipulations, as well as those who, declared free by the sentence of the Mixed Commission Courts established in those countries, are held in a most cruel and unrighteous bondage.”

The Rev. Dr. RITCHIE, of Edinburgh, in seconding the resolution, said,—Such is the nature of slavery, that I am at no loss any hour in the four-and-twenty to denounce it. Every thing that is in me and belongs to me compels me to denounce it. I am a man, and therefore I must detest slavery. (Cheers.) The man who holds his liberty at the arbitrary injunction of any man under the sun is a slave. (Hear, hear.) I was born free, I will die free, and I will do all that I can to make every man on the face of the earth as free as myself. (Cheers.) I am a husband, and therefore I abhor and detest slavery; for in the land of slavery conjugal ties are necessarily unknown. (Cheers.) I am a parent, and therefore I detest slavery, because it is its every-day practice to wrench asunder those ties that bind parent and child to each other. (Hear, hear.) I am a minister of Him who came to this world to give liberty to the captive, and who calls upon every one that will hear his word—and hear it sooner or later all must—to open the doors of the prison-house, and let the oppressed go free. I am never more at home, therefore, than when denouncing slavery, and calling upon all to put down both it and the slave-trade. “Trade!” did I say? here is another anomaly. As a minister of the gospel, I am accustomed to select a text from the book of truth, and I do not find this text there. “Slave-trade!” it is not a trade. What is trade? The happy invention of men to make up for the difficulties of men. It is a practice founded upon the well-known physical fact, that the wants of one climate must be supplied by the surplussage of another. Trade is an exchange of goods—of property. Is man goods? Is he property? (Cries of “No, no.”) In Edinburgh, the anti-slavery cause never made progress till Andrew Thompson announced the aphorism, that man could never hold property in man. That is the maxim we should adopt, and it is high time that the man who disputes it should dispute his own identity, or at all events, that of his own species. I would go with such a man round the world and back again, and defy him to point to a human being whose identity he could mistake. (Cheers.) Yet there are individuals who can point to the slave, and say, “Do you call that a man?” (Hear, hear.) When I look at the slave-trade in its commencement, follow it in its horrid progress, and trace it to its termination, I see nothing but lamentation, and misery, and woe—nothing but a flagrant outrage against the will of God. I never could ask the blessing of Providence on slavery in any shape. (Hear, hear.) Voluntaryism is the law of creation—(cheers)—but I need not illustrate it in a meeting where all are volunteers. It has always astonished me, that while our armed legions could find their way to Madrid and Paris, the policy and power of Britain never could prevail upon one European nation to give up the slave-trade. Great Britain has paid large sums to different nations to suppress the slave-trade; but they have not on that account employed one slave-ship the less; they have never removed one negro-driver. (Hear, hear.) They put the money in one pocket, and then look for as much more to put in the other. (Hear, hear.) If ever I saw the blessing of God descending upon a band of patriotic men, it was in the Convention yesterday afternoon. Ere one or two other Conventions have been held, slavery will be spoken of as a thing that is past. May God grant it, and to him shall be the glory. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried.

S. BOWLY, Esq., of Gloucester, rose to move the fourth resolution, and said,—I believe that a very large portion of the success adverted to in the resolution may be attributed to the indefatigable labours of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; and I desire to call the attention of this assembly to the importance of supporting that institution. The necessity of it will be shown by a reference to the state of the funds laid before us this day. The Society, however, may be supported by public opinion as well as by money. My own feelings have been strengthened and confirmed by attending the Convention, as well as the meeting this day. As we are apt to suppose that what interests our own feelings will interest those of others, I will for a moment refer to the impression made on my own mind by the fact stated by Joseph Sturge, as to the number of children who died on board a slave-ship while enduring the horrors of the middle passage. I have watched over a child, and such were its sufferings that I was compelled to pray for the deliverance of its spirit. Think what must have been the sufferings of those 230 children, uncared for, unnursed, separated from all whom they loved and held dear on earth. (Hear, hear.) I would appeal to the heart of every parent, and remind him that this unrighteous traffic never can be put down till slavery has ceased; and I believe that public opinion is the only instrument that can effect that desirable result. There are those who have come here from

various motives, but I trust that we shall all go away under the deep impression of what is our individual duty. (Cheers.) The resolution moved was as follows:—

"That this meeting view with the highest satisfaction the progress which the anti-slavery cause has made during the past year in the United States, France, Holland, Portugal, and Tunis, and would earnestly encourage their friends and coadjutors in these several countries, to persevere, amidst the difficulties and discouragements by which they are surrounded, stedfastly and firmly in the maintenance of righteous principles, until they shall have achieved their deliverance from the guilt consequent on the support of the system of slavery."

The Rev. J. BURNET rose and said, the resolution brings before the meeting some very serious things, to which you should not, without very deliberate consideration, for a moment consent to yield. We are, by a formal resolution, to hand over the duty to these gentlemen from America, from France, from divers parts of the world, and at the same time to take upon ourselves to encourage one another in a persevering, a determined, an undying hostility to every thing that participates of the character, or savours of the attributes of slavery. (Cheers.) It may be said, and we have the authority of the right rev. prelate for it, that we are asking these gentlemen to undertake too much, and that we are offering to take too much upon ourselves. That right rev. prelate has expressed his apprehension that slavery is likely to continue to the end of the world. If it does, it must be because these moral means have not been put forth by moral men, which the Creator of the world has placed in their hands to be used for the abolition of this cruel traffic—(cheers)—and then at the end of the world, when slavery is to be destroyed by the day of doom, the slaveholders that we have permitted to remain in their guilt, and our guilty selves who have refused to come forward and warn them of their danger, will have a fearful reckoning with the great Author both of the freeman and the slave. I have no doubt, however, that the moral means we employ—and we profess to employ no others—will, in the end, so tell on the minds of enlightened men, that long before the end of the world we shall see the end of the system of slavery. (Cheers.) It has been said that we cannot drive the Americans, but we can lead them; I think it would be better neither to lead nor to drive, but simply to enlighten them, and permit them to walk by themselves. A mother is much more gratified by seeing her young offspring run and play the pranks of offspring, without being led or driven, than when they do it by leading or driving. (Applause.) We just wish to bring the world to that state of feeling by which it will be led to advance from one degree of attainment to another, in the great cause of human freedom, until all the ends of the earth shall have enjoyed one common liberty, and until the only distinctions existing among men will be those arising out of superior attainment, high character, lofty principle, moral bearing, religious sanctity, and all that can raise the man. (Cheers.) I do not mean to say that there should be no official distinctions in the world—no distinctions of rank; for I am not a leveller, except upon the question of freedom. (Cheers.) But when that period, which I anticipate, shall have arrived, degrees of rank and titles of aristocracy will be respected, and respected as your lordship is, in connexion with high attributes of character, and cultivation of mind. (Cheers.) But the resolution refers to something done in America; and what has been done there? Let the presence of the delegates on the platform tell you, that while we were struggling for the freedom of our own slaves, America was sometimes a favourite topic with us upon which we could wreak our indignation after we had well scourged the legislation that made slavery a part of our own system; and there was nothing at that time but a distant whisper from the American States that movements were begun of an incipient character which might end in something. That something has come, and we have to-day delegates from societies greatly tried in the midst not of colonial but of domestic slavery; for that gives to American slavery all its difficulty, and no doubt constitutes the source of many of the trials of abolitionists in the United States. (Hear, hear.) We have on the platform the treasurer of the French Anti-Slavery Society. (Cheers.) What has been done there? Some interesting reports have been presented, and Government speak of abolishing slavery in 1853 or 1853. Many of our own reports a few years ago contained proposals nothing better. These men will feel that there is something by no means consistent in first detailing the abominations of slavery, and then saying that it may continue for ten or twenty years. (Hear, hear.) The Portuguese and the Spaniards have been paid by us to abolish the slave-trade. We are always ready with our money, but I had rather that we were a nation of generous fools than of niggardly misers. (Laughter and cheers.) The Spaniards do not seem inclined to do anything for the suppression of slavery; but the Portuguese have proposed that a law should be introduced by which it should be abolished in their territories three years after its introduction. But when is the law to be introduced? (Hear, hear.) They know that this is not the way to take up a great question. They permit man-stealing to go on for an indefinite period, and then tell you that three years afterwards they will begin to repent of the robbery. This, however, is something. These men have minds, and when they come to reason upon the proposition they will see its absurdity, and perceive that they have been talking nonsense, and exposing themselves to the ridicule of Europe. (Cheers.) We find the Bey of Tunis, (referred to in the resolution,) doing what? Putting an end to the slave-trade; declaring that, after December 1842, all the children born of slaves are to be free. He has fixed his time. What will the Portuguese say to this? "Here is this Mohamedan Bey—he has fixed his time, but we have not fixed ours." (Cheers.) He has also abolished the slave market, and his chiefs follow in his train. Now, if we find all these circumstances indicating the march of this great question, and showing how mind can act upon mind, are we not called upon to adopt such a resolution as that which I have risen to second, and to say that we will maintain the righteous principles upon which we have hitherto acted? (Cheers.) I have, however, to remind you, that in carrying out the objects which the society has in view, it must necessarily incur expense. We can find gentlemen who will labour in this cause without fee or reward; but the tradesmen whom we employ are not slaves, and therefore we must pay for our work. I am sure you have no wish that the treasurer should not be repaid what he has advanced; and I think it part of the encouragement referred to in the resolution that

you should pay as you go on. We ask no military force; we ask no naval power; we ask not Britannia, that sits on the rock as the ocean's queen, to aid us with her thunder in this work of philanthropy and love. We seek only to diffuse the just feelings of high principle throughout the nations at large, in order to accomplish every work and every triumph which this society is intended to achieve. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

The Rev. W. BROCK, of Norwich, said,—The following is the proposition which I have to submit for your adoption:—

"That whilst this meeting would deprecate, as one of the greatest calamities that could befall the human race, the annexation of Texas to the United States, inasmuch as it would not only strengthen the system of slavery, and lead to its indefinite extension on the American continent, but increase in an equal degree the internal slave trade, they have learned with satisfaction that a feeling in favour of the abolition of slavery in Texas has recently sprung up, which they trust will be encouraged and strengthened by the due exertion of the influence of the Government and people of this country, with a view to its complete extinction in that republic."

I should deem it wrong were I to omit to say, that I think the right rev. the Bishop of Norwich has been in some way misunderstood. (Hear, hear.) I consider it due to him to say, that when he is at home, and when, therefore, all foreign influence is withdrawn, or inoperative, a more honest or enlightened friend of all that is liberal and good cannot, I believe, be found. (Cheers.) He visits a school with which I am connected, and which has nothing to do with the Established Church, nearly as often, and with quite as much cordiality and much more usefulness, than any minister of any name in the city in which he dwells. (Cheers.) In the prosecution of any great work, it is always pleasant to be encouraged by hope. We have great reason to hope that anti-slavery conventions are not spending their strength for nought. Some extraordinary statements were there made of the prosperity of the cause in the United States. In America they say, in reference to British influence, that "it contrives to be every where. (Cheers.) There is a sort of ubiquity about it—it is here, there, and every where. Move wherever you may, you find that the interests and the philanthropy of Britain discover themselves, and they are now setting themselves against our peculiar institution." It is a good thing that they begin to feel this, and I think it should encourage us to go on. The resolution speaks of some impending calamities in the matter of Texas; and should they occur, slavery will be maintained there for an indefinite period, and the internal slave-trade of America promoted to a great extent. They will give rise to the greatest abominations on which the sun ever shone, but with reference to which modesty and decency prevent me from saying more. The resolution, however, also speaks of hope. In the southern states of America they are much disturbed on the question of the independence of Texas, and are exceedingly anxious that it should be annexed to the Union. They denounce our efforts, and say strange things about the dog-star, the horoscope, and astrological phenomena, which I cannot understand. (Laughter.) They tell us that we are looking after persons who are not to be called men, but goods and chattels, to be sold like beasts of burden. (Hear, hear.) We are told that it will be an awful thing if Texas be not annexed to the Union; but in the meantime we hear the encouraging fact, that abolition is being talked of in domestic circles and at the fire-side. (Cheers.) This shows that there is some probability that we shall succeed. These persons tell us that the British government is indomitable. They do not know so much about it as we do. (Laughter.) We know that it is invincible, when backed up by religion, morality, and truth; but in the absence of these, it is neither invincible, nor any thing therewith to be compared. (Hear, hear.) In this cause, however, we have the truth, the religion, the morality of the country with us; and this being the case, the southern planters are afraid that England will triumph, and that their peculiar institutions will be destroyed. (Cheers.) Under these circumstances we are called upon to use our influence, and I hope that our government will do right. This, however, is not always the case, unless they are acted upon by public opinion. We are told by Lord Ashburton that he had no idea that the tenth article of the Washington treaty would endanger the freedom of the fugitive slave; but now that light has broken in upon the people, and been reflected on him, he says that, had he foreseen it, it should not have received his assent. If we can get the government and the people with us, we shall do well. The fact ought to be kept distinctly before us, that when a slave escapes to Canada he ought to be free, under whatever circumstances he arrives there. It is quite true that, according to certain ideas, he perpetrates a crime in going there; but it is equally true that by the same act he expiates a crime that is much greater. (Cheers.) The evil he commits in going there is but a probable one; the evil he undoes is a certain one. (Hear, hear.) If it is said that he perpetrates the sin of flying from slavery, I want to know whether that is a sin at all. (Cries of "No.") If Calhoun welcomes the tenth article, and admires it, and would do all he could to carry it into execution; while, upon the other hand, John Quincy Adams deplores and mourns over it, it is enough to make the British public feel that there is something in it cloven-footed; that there is some snake in the grass, that should make us vigilant in all time to come. (Cheers.)

LEWIS TAPPAN, Esq., of New York, U.S., in seconding the resolution said,—It is with great pleasure that I find myself in this British nation advocating the cause of negro emancipation, and that in the presence of your lordship, who, in a recent visit to my country, has left so favourable an impression on the minds of all who saw you or heard of your being there. (Cheers.) We have been taught that there is nobility in nature as well as in birth; and it is to your nobility that I appeal, when I invoke the British nation to aid us in the emancipation of the slaves on the American continent. There are two topics in the resolution to which I will briefly allude. The first speaks of the probability of the annexation of Texas to the United States. This republic was only a part of Mexico, and there is not a fairer portion of earth of which we have ever heard. It is said to be as large as France, and as fertile as Egypt; a land abounding with universal wealth, well fitted for agricultural productions, containing 600 miles of sea coast, and capable of supplying sugar and cotton for the whole civilized world. In America, we have been accustomed to look at Texas as being the

refuge of those who had escaped from the hand of justice. It is a saying in the United States, that when an officer has a writ and cannot find the debtor, he endorses upon it three letters "G. T. T.," which mean "Gone to Texas." (Laughter and cheers.) But we believe that there are many persons in that republic, men of intelligence and moral virtue, who would be happy to co-operate in throwing off the incubus of slavery, (hear,) that oppresses that young nation. Immigration has ceased, and it is said that there are now more emigrants than immigrants. The distress prevailing there has occasioned among the inhabitants universal alarm. The slaveholders in the United States have fixed their eyes upon this portion of the earth with the view of getting it annexed to the Union, and transferring their slaves to it in order that they may derive greater profit by their labour. They have for many years pressed this object in Congress, with great assiduity; but hitherto they have been resisted by the northern members, headed by that Nestor of the body, John Quincy Adams. (Applause.) The slaveholders look upon this as their last resource, and their efforts are to be renewed when Congress again assembles. The President of the United States has been corresponding with them on the subject, with a desire to accomplish the end in view. Texas is large enough to form six states, as extensive as any in the Union. At the close of the last session, twenty-seven members of Congress issued a solemn appeal to the inhabitants of the United States, warning them against this project. John Quincy Adams headed them; but Mr. Gilmore has had the presumption to say that if the northern people are dissatisfied, all they have to do is, to form more states at the north after they shall have possessed themselves by arms of the British provinces of America. (Hear.) It has been already intimated that a discussion is going on in the republic of Texas on this subject; and that from the deplorable circumstances in which they are placed, they are driven almost to desperation to make it a free state. By the constitution of Texas, slavery has been engrafted upon it in perpetuity; but if it be the will of the people of that land to abolish slavery, they will call a Convention, overthrow the Constitution, and adopt one on free principles. (Cheers.) Papers that I have lately seen show this to be the fact; and the journals of New Orleans that notice the proceedings speak of them with alarm, proving that they entertain great apprehension that the efforts will be successful. It was stated in the Convention yesterday, that a deputation of gentlemen had had an interview with Lord Aberdeen on this subject. He received the deputation with great kindness, and assured them that although the treaty entered into with Texas would be respected as much as a treaty with Spain, yet so far as this nation was concerned, no effort would be spared to effectuate the emancipation of the slaves. In the view of these facts I will state what it is that we want. Your lordship, in your opening address, put it to the American delegates to say, how long the United States would allow this state of things to exist in that nation. My reply is, till Great Britain shall step forward and use her moral influence in putting down slavery in Texas and throughout the world. We, therefore, implore the aid of the British Government and the British people, and entreat them to use their influence with Mexico and Texas for the accomplishment of this great end. Should slavery, through the instrumentality of this nation, be now abolished in Texas, in the United States, and throughout the world, may I not say in conclusion, that the brilliant reign of Elizabeth will be eclipsed by the still brighter and more brilliant reign of that youthful monarch who now sways the destinies of this empire? (Loud cheers.)

ISAAC CREWDSON, Esq., of Manchester, requested Mr. Tappan to explain why it was so desirable to the slaveholders that Texas should be annexed to the United States; and why, on the part of the friends of freedom, it was so important that its independence should be maintained.

L. TAPPAN, Esq., resumed.—Were it not for the hope of extending slavery in Texas, the old states of Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland, would emancipate their slaves. Slavery is continued in those districts, in order that they may raise a supply for the southern states; slaves are there reared, and then sent to the southern market, just as cattle is here sent to Smithfield. (Sensation.) The slaveholders hope that by annexing Texas to the United States, that boundless field will be opened to them, and that slavery will become interminable. The last hope of the slave will be extinguished if this union be effected. If, however, Texas is made a free state, and I do not believe that it can be done without the interposition of this nation, an everlasting barrier will be erected to the extension of this iniquitous system. Slavery will die out, and then we will come to London, or invite you to come to America, to hold another world's convention to celebrate the jubilee. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

The Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON, (a gentleman of colour, and pastor of a Congregational church in Hartford, Connecticut,) rose, amid loud applause, to move—

"That this meeting deeply regrets the sanction given by her Majesty's Government to a scheme of emigration from Africa to the West Indies, as of dangerous tendency, inasmuch as, in their judgment, it is not called for by existing circumstances, and can only be carried into effect at an enormous expense, to be borne chiefly by those whose interests it will seriously affect, for the benefit of the planters and non-resident proprietors, and which is, moreover, open to serious objections, on account of the disparity of the sexes which it allows to be introduced into the colonies; and, inasmuch, also, as it affords a pernicious example to slave-holding states to people their territories and colonies with nominally free, though really enslaved Africans; thus creating a new form of slave-trading, which no treaties can reach and no laws can cure. That this meeting equally regrets the relaxation of the restrictions placed on the export of Indian labourers to Mauritius, which though henceforth subject to Governmental control, is open to most of the objections urged against emigration from Africa to the West Indies, and is obnoxious to the charge of allowing the unlimited importation into that island of the male sex only—an arrangement, against which they earnestly protest as immoral and alike injurious to the native and the imported labourers."

I have consented to move this resolution, with the understanding that my remarks shall have some latitude. To one who has been in the habit of calm observation, it must be evident that the world is approaching a great crisis. (Hear, hear.) Commotion seems to be the order of the day;

one strange and dreadful event appears to tread rapidly on the heels of another. Remedies are multiplied, but diseases, political and moral, seem to fasten upon the very vitals of society. Hence, the philanthropist, the politician, and the Christian, are continually inquiring what is the matter, and what is the remedy. Remedies, I have said, are multiplied, but the failures are almost equally numerous. Hence, it is apparent that in a great degree society is disorganised; and it behoves us to inquire into the cause. It originates in the dismemberment of those portions of the human family who have been long and cruelly disfranchised. (Hear, hear.) The human family, taken as a whole, are like the body. Each class is a limb; every limb sustains its appropriate relation. Strike off a limb, and you injure the whole body. (Cheers.) To treat any one class of the human family without a respect to the relationship they sustain, is to do injury to the entire body, and to diffuse pain throughout it. Here is the exact position of that limb of the human family which I represent to-day. For hundreds of years it has been dismembered from the trunk, and hence mutual pain, mutual disease, mutual agony, mutual trouble throughout the whole body. Again, I ask, What is the remedy? It is direct, it is close, it is reasonable. Restore the dismembered limb. (Cheers.) I have great pleasure in moving this resolution, because it will call upon you to protest against all the petty policy that has been pursued with respect to Africa, from the days of Charles the Fifth of Spain down to the present moment. I protest against the scheme of emigration from Africa, because it involves a line of policy inadequate to meet the necessities of that country, and unworthy of being adopted by one nation towards another. I protest against it, because that country has an ample extent of land; it has splendid rivers; it has exhaustless resources; it abounds in gold dust, in ivory, in palm oil, and furnishes room enough for all its inhabitants. (Cheers.) There is no use, therefore, in transporting them from its shores. I protest against it, because I would first call upon the nations to do justice to those portions of the family of Africa whom they have already stolen and enticed away, before they think of the removal of others. Let the United States emancipate all that are found within her territories. Let Great Britain educate and refine the 800,000 freemen in her colonies. She has already enough to whom to do justice, ere she entices others away. (Cheers.) I have said that the dismemberment of society is the occasion of all its troubles and pains. Let me fasten your attention on this view of the subject. I am not one of those who would maintain that portions of society which have long been in possession of power and privilege have had their energies exhausted; but I do maintain that we have arrived at a great crisis in the course of time and events; that the hand of Providence has been placed on the car, and that the mandate is, that it shall proceed no further till all the passengers are in. (Hear, hear.) Or, if you choose to change the figure, suppose the case of a ship, about to sail with 100 passengers, all of whom have been registered, and have paid their fare. Fifty only are on board; shall the ship sail without the rest? I am persuaded, that if the noble lord were the commander of that ship, he would not weigh anchor till all were on board. (Cheers.) But I rejoice to know that God is the Commander of the ship, and that he says that the anchor shall not be weighed, a sail shall not be hoisted, until all the passengers are embarked. (Cheers.) My race constitute the rejected passengers, and the mandate of Providence is, that the ship shall not depart without them. There is mutiny among the passengers, and if the noble lord were among the fifty, he would protest against the sailing of the vessel until the remainder were on board. (Cheers.) And on board they must, go or the ship cannot sail. I have been much pleased with the remarks made by his Lordship with regard to English and Irish emigrants to America; and more especially that he referred to the fact that Irish emigrants are amongst the most inveterate foes to human rights. It is greatly to be lamented that the subjects of the British empire do not carry their principles with them to America. (Applause.) When I came to this country, two of my fellow passengers were slave-holders, one a Briton, and the other an Irishman. The latter told me more than once that he knew his slaves in Kentucky had more to waste than his friends in Ireland had to live upon. (Laughter, and ironical cheers.) I appeal to the audience, never at the peril of liberty to countenance the idea that we are to have perpetual slavery. (Cheers.) I wish to make known to-day, before heaven and earth, that if you are to have perpetual slavery, you cannot have the black man for a perpetual slave. (Immense cheers.) I am prepared to abide by this position. I say it advisedly, that our servitude, which has been a submissive and a bloody one, is nearly out, and therefore, if slavery is to be perpetual, the question comes—who are to be the slaves? (Cheers.) Who shall settle this question? Will the British Government, the British nation, or any other government or nation, undertake the settlement of this question? I imagine that I see an individual enter the door before me; he throws his eye around the audience; he advances and delivers a message; the message is brought to the noble chairman, who announces to the meeting that the man designs to take some one from this hall and make him a slave, and the meeting are to decide who that individual shall be. I ask your Lordship and your fellow citizens, would any one be prepared to stand up and assign a reason why I should be that slave. (Cheers.) I believe the audience intended to respond in the negative, I then ask, why treat my people so? (Renewed cheers.) I am the representative of that people, and what I gain anywhere and everywhere, I gain for every manacled slave in America, and for every benighted African in the world. (Loud cheers.) Allow me to say, in conclusion, that I do not stand here to recriminate. Though I have a country that has never done me justice, yet I must return to it, and I shall not therefore recriminate. It has pleased God to make me black and you white, but let us remember, that whatever be our complexion, we are all by nature labouring under the degradation of sin, and without the grace of God are black at heart. (Hear, hear.) I know of no difference between the depraved heart of a Briton, an American, or an African. There is no difference between its colour, its disposition, and its self-will. There is only one mode of emancipation from the slavery of sin, from blackness of heart, and that is by the blood of the Son of God. (Hear, hear.) Whatever be our complexion, whatever our kindred and people, we need to be emancipated from sin, and to be cleansed from our pollution by the all-prevailing grace of God. I bless his name, that in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free, but all are one. (Long continued applause.)

The Rev. J. H. HINTON, in seconding the resolution, said: The preceding speaker has told us that 'it has pleased God to make us white and him black; I should like to ask him how he knows that, or what right anybody had to make him know it, (hear, hear,) or suspect that there was any difference of colour between him and ourselves. For my own part I do not know what colour I am, except that I half suspect that I am black too. (Laughter.) At all events, I know that if there is any difference of colour, there is a community of sympathy, and heart, and love; and I denounce every endeavour to make the difference of colour, if there be any, a ground for trampling him under foot. The race to which he belongs, and any other coloured race, if there be such upon this earth, in possession of similar faculties, sentiments, and sympathies, constitute the identity of the human family, and shall constitute it in a happier state of this world than yet exists, and in a happier world than this shall ever be. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried.

WM. EVANS, Esq. M.P., rose to move:—

"That the cordial thanks of the meeting be tendered to Lord Morpeth, for his kindness in undertaking the duties of chairman on this occasion, and for the ability with which he has conducted all the proceedings of the day."

After pronouncing a high encomium upon his lordship, the honourable member congratulated the meeting on the present prospects of the abolition of slavery. He trusted that they would persevere through evil and through good report, till the great object was gained and every slave was blessed with freedom. (Cheers.)

M. AMEDEE THAYER, Treasurer of the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery, on rising to second the resolution, was received with enthusiastic cheers. I feel happy, he said, in being called upon to second the motion. I thank his lordship for what he has said regarding the society with which I am connected. I hope you will not think that it is out of any want of interest in the noble cause in which you are engaged, that so few of my countrymen are present on this highly important occasion. I can assure you, that there were many who expected to be here, but they have been detained, some by parliamentary, and some by other pressing duties. You may, however, rely upon their utmost endeavours to promote the grand cause of emancipation, not only in the French colonies, but all over the world. (Cheers.) His lordship has truly observed, that this is a question on which France and England can meet on common and equal grounds; but I hope, that they will soon be able to do so on all questions involving not only their own welfare, but that of the world at large. (Loud cheers.)

W. T. BLAIR, Esq., of Bath, having briefly supported the resolution, it was submitted to the meeting, and carried by loud acclamation.

The Noble LORD then rose and said, it is scarcely needful for me to tell you two things,—first, that after the length of time with which your patience permitted me to trespass upon you in opening the proceedings, I am not about to commit a second trespass of the like nature in concluding them. Another is, that I am sure you will give me credit for feeling deeply grateful for the resolution which you have just been pleased to adopt; and which certainly is not the less welcome for having been moved with a happy concurrence of nations and a not less gratifying unity of language and of feeling. I need not now enter upon the subject of the various resolutions which have been proposed and adopted. In the general spirit and tenor of them all, no one can concur more perfectly than myself. (Cheers.) I ought, however, to make some reservation with reference to the last; for my mind is not yet made up, as to the degree in which, with a due regard to the rights and welfare of all interested, we ought to make use of other than indigenous labour in our colonies, or how far it would be lawful to encourage the immigration of African labour. On the one hand, I feel that nothing is more calculated to promote the abolition of slavery all over the world, than to be able to exhibit to the slave-holding population of other countries the advantages, in a temporary and pecuniary point of view, of free labour. But, on the other hand, I go as far as any one in laying it down, that our first duty is to discharge the long and heavy debt that is due to the free coloured people both of our own colonies and of Africa—(hear, hear)—and if the transfer of African labour to the West Indies cannot be made without the substantial sacrifice of their interests, I should be the first to repudiate and reject it. (Cheers.) I hope, indeed, that a better day is dawning upon Africa; and that, as we may hope to see the example of the Bey of Tunis, who, we learn, has abolished the slave-market in his own dominions, and put a term to slavery itself, will be hereafter the type and model of the conduct of other African rulers, so I hope the well-conceived and well-reasoned speech of the coloured reverend gentleman, to which we have just listened with so much pleasure, may also be but as a type of what African civilization is to advance to, both among the present race and their most remote descendants. (Cheers.) I am sure that all who have been here to-day will not regret their presence on this occasion. They must have had their feelings warmed and their resolutions strengthened in their attachment to the great anti-slavery cause. (Cheers.) But let them remember that good wishes and resolutions are not sufficient, and let them try to make their presence on this occasion really beneficial, by striving in their own spheres—for there is no sphere, however apparently remote and sequestered, in which I believe some good may not be contributed to this great cause—to aid in giving the final blow which shall prostrate slavery to the earth. (Applause.) Let them not despair of the result of any efforts they may make; for they must remember that by the continual descent of the smallest drop the hardest stone is excavated. I trust that the proceedings of this day will have given an impetus to the cause, the movements of which will not be arrested, and the wheels of which will not cease to play, till all the requirements of human freedom are satisfied, and slavery shall have for ever terminated—

"Until every shore and every sea
Resound with anthems of the free."

His lordship then retired amid long-continued cheers, and the meeting separated.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-vendors throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communication for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

FUNDS.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg very earnestly and respectfully to call the attention of their friends to the subject of Funds, and to urge upon them the necessity of liberal contributions in aid of the great objects the Society has in view. They would especially remind them of the additional heavy expenses which have necessarily attended the late Convention. A distinct subscription has been opened to meet the same. Those friends who have collecting books will have the kindness to forward any such sums as they may have collected, as early as convenient. Donations and subscriptions are received by the treasurer, G. W. Alexander, Esq., at the office of the Society, No. 27, New Broad-street, London.

FOUND during the sittings of the Anti-Slavery Convention, a Gold Pin. It is now in the possession of Mr. SOUL, at the Anti-Slavery Office, and may be had on being properly described.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 28, 1843.

WE can do no more, in our present Number, than merely call attention to the full Report of the great Anti-Slavery Meeting, held on Wednesday last at Exeter Hall. The able and eloquent speech of the noble chairman will amply repay perusal, as indeed will those of all the gentlemen who took part in the proceedings.

THE Republic of Texas has been considered, both in this country and in the United States, as a nation from which very little advantage to the world was to be expected. By its constitution slavery exists in perpetuity, and the character of many of the inhabitants has seemed to evince that they would be slow to make any movement calculated to abolish the "institution." Recently, however, intelligence has been received from Texas and the United States, which affords some hope, nay, expectation, that this country may yet become a free state. The country is in a most deplorable condition. The low price of cotton has disheartened the planters, and money is unprecedentedly scarce. The inhabitants, amounting to about 80,000 whites, and 20,000 slaves, are put to their wits' end to subsist, are ready to throw themselves into the arms of Great Britain or the United States, if relief can be afforded equal to the present exigencies of the nation.

The southern politicians of the United States have long had their eyes upon Texas with a view to have it annexed to the American Union. They desire it as the means of extending slavery—for the purpose of furnishing the slave-breeders of Maryland, Virginia, &c., a market for their slaves; and acquiring a new country in lieu of their worn-out estates. They openly and boldly announce that Texas shall be annexed to the Union at all hazards. They have published such a declaration, and we have it from good authority that these desperate men, having President Tyler favourable to their views, and an expected increase of adherents in the next session of Congress, intend to make a vigorous, and as many fear, a too successful effort, next winter, to introduce Texas into the family of the American States. There is no doubt but the President and his Cabinet, with all the southern members of Congress, aided, it may be, by several northern members with southern principles, will unite in the attempt to perpetrate this direful act.

At such a crisis we have learned, with inexpressible delight, that the question of making Texas a free state is agitated in that country! We have seen newspapers of recent date from Texas, in which this matter is distinctly stated; and newspapers from New Orleans corroborate the report, though they speak of it with extreme alarm. At the late Anti-Slavery Convention these interesting and important facts were distinctly stated, and the proofs were laid before the meeting. We learn that a deputation waited upon Lord Aberdeen, and communicated the facts to him. He assured the deputation that this Government viewed the matter as worthy of serious consideration; that although they must treat Texas, with which they have a treaty, as they would any other power with which they were on terms of amity, yet the Government would do all it legitimately could for the extinction of slavery; and that the deputation might rely upon the disposition of the Government to use its influence both with Mexico and Texas, in all proper ways to accomplish the end in view. There are several ways in which it can act most efficiently. It is understood that the Mexican government has already proposed to acknowledge the independence of Texas, provided the latter country will acknowledge the sovereignty of the former. This is done, probably, to save its honour. If Mexico, at the suggestion of this Government, would consent to vary her proposition, and say to the Texans, Assimilate your institutions to ours—abolish slavery—and we will acknowledge your independence without further condition,—it might be acceded to; especially should Great Britain extend advantages to Texas, which the Government of this country know well how to offer, and which Texas would gladly receive.

We look upon the present crisis as a most important one in relation to Texas, the United States, and the world. To use the language of an eminent American statesman, "England has it now in her power, in a way equally beneficial to Texas and the cause of humanity, to abolish slavery in that republic, and consequently throughout the United States and the world, and she is bound, as a Christian nation, to take prompt and efficient measures for the accomplishment of this great object." We hope the attention of our readers—the attention of the British public—and the attention of the Government of this country, will be drawn to this subject, looking upon it, as we do, as a matter of more importance than anything that has occurred for many years. England will not fulfil the expectations of the world, if, after abolishing slavery in her West and East India dominions, she omits all she can with propriety for extinguishing this accursed system on the continent of America. Now is the time for her interposition—for the influence she can properly exert—for the total overthrow of slavery, and consequently of the slave-trade, throughout the world. "England," said Lord Nelson, "expects every man to do his duty." May not the men of every civilized country now say, The world expects that England will do her duty to the human race and to God!

WHATEVER differences of opinion, on most points, may have become apparent in the discussions which arose during the sittings of the late Anti-Slavery Convention, it is matter for sincere congratulation that its close was marked by feelings of mutual forbearance and respect, and a sincere determination to prosecute the great objects for which it was convened, with renewed activity and zeal.

The enemies of human freedom—the slave-traffickers and slaveholders, and their abettors—may have hoped to gain an advantage from the division of opinion referred to; but they little know the depth of feeling, the strength of motive, or the elevation of principle, which shape the course and animate the efforts of the abolitionists, both in this and other countries, if they suppose that that division of opinion will lead to alienation, much less to the abandonment of the Anti-slavery cause. Co-operate they will in all that each deems essential to its success; and when they cannot work together they will agree to differ, and pursue the course their judgment may decide to be the best for the accomplishment of their common object, the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade. We do not despair, nay, we indulge the hope that on points of difference they may yet be brought to harmonise, and advance as an undivided phalanx against the common foe. Truth, both as to means and ends, is what they aim at. No selfish purpose or sinister policy enters into their decisions; no mean jealousy or petty rivalry marks their course. Hence, we say, we indulge the hope that a calm review of the questions at issue will lead to unity of action, and that the mere politician, the factious partisan, as well as the slaveholder, will be disappointed, if he think to serve his personal ambition or his party objects by their instrumentality.

MUCH misapprehension having existed as to the course which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have felt it to be their duty to pursue on certain great questions which, during the last three years, have engaged much of the public attention, it has been thought desirable that the following documents should be published for general information. The first is a copy of a memorial addressed to the late President of the Board of Trade on fiscal regulations in favour of free labour, &c.; and the latter consists of copies of correspondence, and memorial to the Foreign Secretary on the late mission of Mr. Ellis to Brazil. They are given without comment, and are commended to the careful consideration of the friends of negro freedom throughout the country:—

FISCAL REGULATIONS IN FAVOUR OF FREE TRADE.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Ripon, President of the Board of Trade, &c., &c., &c.

MY LORD,—In the prosecution of the great object which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have in view—namely, the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, by means which are purely of a moral, religious, and pacific nature, they felt it to be their solemn duty to oppose the measure of the late Government for the reduction in the duties on foreign sugars, so far as it affected those which were clearly raised by the labour of slaves, on the ground that they believed the inevitable tendency of such reduction would be immediately to extend the slave-trade, and to aggravate and prolong its unutterable horrors, while at the same time it would render the condition of slaves already in bondage more grievous and intolerable than ever. On the same principle, and governed by the same motives, the Committee feel it to be their duty respectfully to approach the present Government, through your lordship, as the President of the Board of Trade, with their earnest request that the produce of the tropics raised by free labour, come from what country it may, may be placed on such a footing in relation to the productions of the British colonies, as shall enable it to come immediately into fair and full competition with the same.

In further developing their views, the Committee beg permission to suggest to your lordship, whether it would not be greatly to the advantage of the revenue to reduce the present duty on sugars, and other produce, raised in the British possessions in the East and West Indies. Such a measure, combined with an equalization of the duties on foreign tropical productions of a similar kind, raised by freemen, the Committee believe would have the further advantage of greatly increasing the comforts of the poor of the land, of leading

to a rapid development of the resources of the British colonies and plantations abroad, and of opening new and extensive markets for British manufactures; whilst it would strike a heavy blow at the atrocious system of slavery, and consequently at the slave-trade, wherever it obtains, and would operate both as an economical and a moral argument, in favour of the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade.

The Committee would still further venture to suggest to your lordship the propriety of removing the remaining restrictions on West India commerce, so as to enable the planters and merchants of our own free colonies successfully to compete with the foreign growers of sugar by slave labour in the continental markets; and so as to admit of the complete equalization of the duties on tropical productions, whether of our own or of other countries, grown exclusively by free labour.

Coupled with a wise and judicious scheme of immigration into the emancipated colonies, which, on the one hand, shall throw open the labour market to fair and honourable competition, and on the other, shall guard against the abuses which have hitherto unhappily marked the course of colonial experiments in this way, and shall be exclusively under the direction of the Government, the measures which the Committee have ventured to suggest to your lordship will, they believe, in their combination, be one in the great order of means for securing the liberty of millions now held in bondage, for terminating the slave-trade, for greatly increasing the prosperity of this country, and for advancing the cause of universal justice and benevolence, of civilization and religion, of freedom and peace throughout the world.

Signed by order of the Committee,

WILLIAM ALLEN, Chairman.

27, New Broad-street, September 10th, 1841.

MISSION TO BRAZIL.

27, New Broad-street, November 17, 1842.

MY LORD,—I have been requested by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to forward to your lordship the enclosed memorial, and to express their earnest hope that its suggestions may meet with your lordship's approbation.

I have the honour to be &c., &c.,

(Signed)

JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Aberdeen, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c., &c.

MY LORD,—The appointment of a diplomatic agent to Brazil for the purpose of negotiating a commercial treaty with its Government, affords the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society an opportunity of respectfully submitting to your lordship some considerations bearing on the subject, to which they attach great importance, and which they earnestly hope may be allowed to have due weight in so important a transaction.

The exact fulfilment of treaties has ever been considered among civilized nations a duty of the highest order, and as justly entitling those who faithfully observe them to universal confidence and respect; whilst the evasion or non-fulfilment of their stipulations has been regarded as inflicting a deep wound on national honour and dignity, and as imperilling their peace and prosperity.

Since the abolition of the slave-trade by Great Britain, she has steadily, if not always consistently, pressed on other Governments implicated in that disgraceful traffic, the duty of co-operating with her in so noble a work of humanity. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the Great Powers of Europe through their plenipotentiaries unanimously declared the slave-trade to be "repugnant to the principles of humanity, and of universal morality; and that the public voice of all civilized countries calls aloud for its prompt suppression;" and they further declared, "the wish of their sovereigns to put an end to a scourge which desolates Africa, degrades Europe, and afflicts humanity." France had previously, in 1814, engaged to unite with England in endeavouring to induce "all the powers of Christendom to proclaim the universal and definitive abolition of the trade." Negotiations were opened; and now, with few exceptions, all the Governments in Europe and America have entered into treaties, by which they have solemnly bound themselves to co-operate with this country in terminating the mighty evil.

Happily for the cause of humanity, most of the powers who have brought themselves under these engagements, have faithfully adhered to them, and but few have openly violated them. Among these, the Committee regret to say, Brazil stands conspicuous. In 1826, that country agreed to a convention with Great Britain, stipulating:—First, that three years after the exchange of ratifications, it should not be lawful for the subjects of the Emperor to be concerned in the African slave-trade, under any pretext, or in any manner whatever; and that the carrying on of such trade, after that period, by any person, a subject of Brazil, should be deemed and treated as piracy. Secondly, that the two powers should, in the mean time, adopt the provisions of the Slave-trade convention concluded in 1817, between England and Portugal, and should forthwith apply them to the restrictions of the Brazilian Slave-trade.

Had the authorities of Brazil acted honourably in carrying this convention into effect, the nefarious traffic would have been suppressed. But papers were still granted by them to slavers to enable them to evade its stipulations, the guilty were allowed to go unpunished, and the commissioners appointed under the convention were, by their instructions, led to throw every impediment in the way of the Court of Mixed Commissioners, established in Brazil, for the adjudication of captured slavers.

In 1828, the Brazilian Government actually went so far as to propose an extension of the time for carrying on the traffic to three

The Rev. J. H. HINTON, in seconding the resolution, said: The preceding speaker has told us that it has pleased God to make us white and him black; I should like to ask him how he knows that, or what right anybody had to make him know it, (hear, hear,) or suspect that there was any difference of colour between him and ourselves. For my own part I do not know what colour I am, except that I half suspect that I am black too. (Laughter.) At all events, I know that if there is any difference of colour, there is a community of sympathy, and heart, and love; and I denounce every endeavour to make the difference of colour, if there be any, a ground for trampling him under foot. The race to which he belongs, and any other coloured race, if there be such upon this earth, in possession of similar faculties, sentiments, and sympathies, constitute the identity of the human family, and shall constitute it in a happier state of this world than yet exists, and in a happier world than this shall ever be. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried.

Wm. EVANS, Esq. M.P., rose to move:—

"That the cordial thanks of the meeting be tendered to Lord Morpeth, for his kindness in undertaking the duties of chairman on this occasion, and for the ability with which he has conducted all the proceedings of the day."

After pronouncing a high encomium upon his lordship, the honourable member congratulated the meeting on the present prospects of the abolition question. He trusted that they would persevere through evil and through good report, till the great object was gained and every slave was blessed with freedom. (Cheers.)

M. AMEDEE THAYER, Treasurer of the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery, on rising to second the resolution, was received with enthusiastic cheers. I feel happy, he said, in being called upon to second the motion. I thank his lordship for what he has said regarding the society with which I am connected. I hope you will not think that it is out of any want of interest in the noble cause in which you are engaged, that so few of my countrymen are present on this highly important occasion. I can assure you, that there were many who expected to be here, but they have been detained, some by parliamentary, and some by other pressing duties. You may, however, rely upon their utmost endeavours to promote the grand cause of emancipation, not only in the French colonies, but all over the world. (Cheers.) His lordship has truly observed, that this is a question on which France and England can meet on common and equal grounds; but I hope, that they will soon be able to do so on all questions involving not only their own welfare, but that of the world at large. (Loud cheers.)

W. T. BLAIR, Esq., of Bath, having briefly supported the resolution, it was submitted to the meeting, and carried by loud acclamation.

The Noble Lord then rose and said, it is scarcely needful for me to tell you two things,—first, that after the length of time with which your patience permitted me to trespass upon you in opening the proceedings, I am not about to commit a second trespass of the like nature in concluding them. Another is, that I am sure you will give me credit for feeling deeply grateful for the resolution which you have just been pleased to adopt; and which certainly is not the less welcome for having been moved with a happy concurrence of nations and a not less gratifying unity of language and of feeling. I need not now enter upon the subject of the various resolutions which have been proposed and adopted. In the general spirit and tenor of them all, no one can concur more perfectly than myself. (Cheers.) I ought, however, to make some reservation with reference to the last; for my mind is not yet made up, as to the degree in which, with a due regard to the rights and welfare of all interested, we ought to make use of other than indigenous labour in our colonies, or how far it would be lawful to encourage the immigration of African labour. On the one hand, I feel that nothing is more calculated to promote the abolition of slavery all over the world, than to be able to exhibit to the slave-holding population of other countries the advantages, in a temporary and pecuniary point of view, of free labour. But, on the other hand, I go as far as any one in laying it down, that our first duty is to discharge the long and heavy debt that is due to the free coloured people both of our own colonies and of Africa—(hear, hear)—and if the transfer of African labour to the West Indies cannot be made without the substantial sacrifice of their interests, I should be the first to repudiate and reject it. (Cheers.) I hope, indeed, that a better day is dawning upon Africa; and that, as we may hope to see the example of the Bey of Tunis, who, we learn, has abolished the slave-market in his own dominions, and put a term to slavery itself, will be hereafter the type and model of the conduct of other African rulers, so I hope the well-conceived and well-reasoned speech of the coloured reverend gentleman, to which we have just listened with so much pleasure, may also be but as a type of what African civilization is to advance to, both among the present race and their most remote descendants. (Cheers.) I am sure that all who have been here to-day will not regret their presence on this occasion. They must have had their feelings warmed and their resolutions strengthened in their attachment to the great anti-slavery cause. (Cheers.) But let them remember that good wishes and resolutions are not sufficient, and let them try to make their presence on this occasion really beneficial, by striving in their own spheres—for there is no sphere, however apparently remote and sequestered, in which I believe some good may not be contributed to this great cause—to aid in giving the final blow which shall prostrate slavery to the earth. (Applause.) Let them not despair of the result of any efforts they may make; for they must remember that by the continual descent of the smallest drop the hardest stone is excavated. I trust that the proceedings of this day will have given an impetus to the cause, the movements of which will not be arrested, and the wheels of which will not cease to play, till all the requirements of human freedom are satisfied, and slavery shall have for ever terminated—

"Until every shore and every sea
Resound with anthems of the free."

His lordship then retired amid long-continued cheers, and the meeting separated.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communication for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

FUNDS.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg very earnestly and respectfully to call the attention of their friends to the subject of Funds, and to urge upon them the necessity of liberal contributions in aid of the great objects the Society has in view. They would especially remind them of the additional heavy expenses which have necessarily attended the late Convention. A distinct subscription has been opened to meet the same. Those friends who have collecting books will have the kindness to forward any such sums as they may have collected, as early as convenient. Donations and subscriptions are received by the treasurer, G. W. Alexander, Esq., at the office of the Society, No. 27, New Broad-street, London.

FOUND during the sittings of the Anti-Slavery Convention, a Gold Pin. It is now in the possession of Mr. SOUL, at the Anti-Slavery Office, and may be had on being properly described.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 28, 1843.

WE can do no more, in our present Number, than merely call attention to the full Report of the great Anti-Slavery Meeting, held on Wednesday last at Exeter Hall. The able and eloquent speech of the noble chairman will amply repay perusal, as indeed will those of all the gentlemen who took part in the proceedings.

THE Republic of Texas has been considered, both in this country and in the United States, as a nation from which very little advantage to the world was to be expected. By its constitution slavery exists in perpetuity, and the character of many of the inhabitants has seemed to evince that they would be slow to make any movement calculated to abolish the "institution." Recently, however, intelligence has been received from Texas and the United States, which affords some hope, nay, expectation, that this country may yet become a free state. The country is in a most deplorable condition. The low price of cotton has disheartened the planters, and money is unprecedentedly scarce. The inhabitants, amounting to about 80,000 whites, and 20,000 slaves, are put to their wits' end to subsist, are ready to throw themselves into the arms of Great Britain or the United States, if relief can be afforded equal to the present exigencies of the nation.

The southern politicians of the United States have long had their eyes upon Texas with a view to have it annexed to the American Union. They desire it as the means of extending slavery—for the purpose of furnishing the slave-breeders of Maryland, Virginia, &c., a market for their slaves; and acquiring a new country in lieu of their worn-out estates. They openly and boldly announce that Texas shall be annexed to the Union at all hazards. They have published such a declaration, and we have it from good authority that these desperate men, having President Tyler favourable to their views, and an expected increase of adherents in the next session of Congress, intend to make a vigorous, and as many fear, a too successful effort, next winter, to introduce Texas into the family of the American States. There is no doubt but the President and his Cabinet, with all the southern members of Congress, aided, it may be, by several northern members with southern principles, will unite in the attempt to perpetrate this direful act.

At such a crisis we have learned, with inexpressible delight, that the question of making Texas a free state is agitated in that country! We have seen newspapers of recent date from Texas, in which this matter is distinctly stated; and newspapers from New Orleans corroborate the report, though they speak of it with extreme alarm. At the late Anti-Slavery Convention these interesting and important facts were distinctly stated, and the proofs were laid before the meeting. We learn that a deputation waited upon Lord Aberdeen, and communicated the facts to him. He assured the deputation that this Government viewed the matter as worthy of serious consideration; that although they must treat Texas, with which they have a treaty, as they would any other power with which they were on terms of amity, yet the Government would do all it legitimately could for the extinction of slavery; and that the deputation might rely upon the disposition of the Government to use its influence both with Mexico and Texas, in all proper ways to accomplish the end in view. There are several ways in which it can act most efficiently. It is understood that the Mexican government has already proposed to acknowledge the independence of Texas, provided the latter country will acknowledge the sovereignty of the former. This is done, probably, to save its honour. If Mexico, at the suggestion of this Government, would consent to vary her proposition, and say to the Texans, Assimilate your institutions to ours—abolish slavery—and we will acknowledge your independence without further condition,—it might be acceded to; especially should Great Britain extend advantages to Texas, which the Government of this country know well how to offer, and which Texas would gladly receive.

We look upon the present crisis as a most important one in relation to Texas, the United States, and the world. To use the language of an eminent American statesman, "England has it now in her power, in a way equally beneficial to Texas and the cause of humanity, to abolish slavery in that republic, and consequently throughout the United States and the world, and she is bound, as a Christian nation, to take prompt and efficient measures for the accomplishment of this great object." We hope the attention of our readers—the attention of the British public—and the attention of the Government of this country, will be drawn to this subject, looking upon it, as we do, as a matter of more importance than anything that has occurred for many years. England will not fulfil the expectations of the world, if, after abolishing slavery in her West and East India dominions, she omits all she can with propriety for extinguishing this accursed system on the continent of America. Now is the time for her interposition—for the influence she can properly exert—for the total overthrow of slavery, and consequently of the slave-trade, throughout the world. "England," said Lord Nelson, "expects every man to do his duty." May not the men of every civilized country now say, The world expects that England will do her duty to the human race and to God!

WHATEVER differences of opinion, on most points, may have become apparent in the discussions which arose during the sittings of the late Anti-Slavery Convention, it is matter for sincere congratulation that its close was marked by feelings of mutual forbearance and respect, and a sincere determination to prosecute the great objects for which it was convened, with renewed activity and zeal.

The enemies of human freedom—the slave-traders and slaveholders, and their abettors—may have hoped to gain an advantage from the division of opinion referred to; but they little know the depth of feeling, the strength of motive, or the elevation of principle, which shape the course and animate the efforts of the abolitionists, both in this and other countries, if they suppose that that division of opinion will lead to alienation, much less to the abandonment of the Anti-slavery cause. Co-operate they will in all that each deems essential to its success; and when they cannot work together they will agree to differ, and pursue the course their judgment may decide to be the best for the accomplishment of their common object, the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade. We do not despair, nay, we indulge the hope that on points of difference they may yet be brought to harmonise, and advance as an undivided phalanx against the common foe. Truth, both as to means and ends, is what they aim at. No selfish purpose or sinister policy enters into their decisions; no mean jealousy or petty rivalry marks their course. Hence, we say, we indulge the hope that a calm review of the questions at issue will lead to unity of action, and that the mere politician, the factious partisan, as well as the slaveholder, will be disappointed, if he think to serve his personal ambition or his party objects by their instrumentality.

MUCH misapprehension having existed as to the course which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have felt it to be their duty to pursue on certain great questions which, during the last three years, have engaged much of the public attention, it has been thought desirable that the following documents should be published for general information. The first is a copy of a memorial addressed to the late President of the Board of Trade on fiscal regulations in favour of free labour, &c.; and the latter consists of copies of correspondence, and memorial to the Foreign Secretary on the late mission of Mr. Ellis to Brazil. They are given without comment, and are commended to the careful consideration of the friends of negro freedom throughout the country:—

FISCAL REGULATIONS IN FAVOUR OF FREE TRADE.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Ripon, President of the Board of Trade, &c., &c., &c.

MY LORD,—In the prosecution of the great object which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have in view—namely, the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, by means which are purely of a moral, religious, and pacific nature, they felt it to be their solemn duty to oppose the measure of the late Government for the reduction in the duties on foreign sugars, so far as it affected those which were clearly raised by the labour of slaves, on the ground that they believed the inevitable tendency of such reduction would be immediately to extend the slave-trade, and to aggravate and prolong its unutterable horrors, while at the same time it would render the condition of slaves already in bondage more grievous and intolerable than ever. On the same principle, and governed by the same motives, the Committee feel it to be their duty respectfully to approach the present Government, through your lordship, as the President of the Board of Trade, with their earnest request that the produce of the tropics raised by free labour, come from what country it may, may be placed on such a footing in relation to the productions of the British colonies, as shall enable it to come immediately into fair and full competition with the same.

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Signed by order of the Committee,

WILLIAM ALLEN, Chairman.

27, New Broad-street, September 10th, 1841.

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I have the honour to be &c., &c.,

(Signed) JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Aberdeen, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c., &c.

MY LORD,—The appointment of a diplomatic agent to Brazil for the purpose of negotiating a commercial treaty with its Government, affords the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society an opportunity of respectfully submitting to your lordship some considerations bearing on the subject, to which they attach great importance, and which they earnestly hope may be allowed to have due weight in so important a transaction.

The exact fulfilment of treaties has ever been considered among civilized nations a duty of the highest order, and as justly entitling those who faithfully observe them to universal confidence and respect; whilst the evasion or non-fulfilment of their stipulations has been regarded as inflicting a deep wound on national honour and dignity, and as imperilling their peace and prosperity.

Since the abolition of the slave-trade by Great Britain, she has steadily, if not always consistently, pressed on other Governments implicated in that disgraceful traffic, the duty of co-operating with her in so noble a work of humanity. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the Great Powers of Europe through their plenipotentiaries unanimously declared the slave-trade to be "repugnant to the principles of humanity, and of universal morality; and that the public voice of all civilized countries calls aloud for its prompt suppression;" and they further declared, "the wish of their sovereigns to put an end to a scourge which desolates Africa, degrades Europe, and afflicts humanity." France had previously, in 1814, engaged to unite with England in endeavouring to induce "all the powers of Christendom to proclaim the universal and definitive abolition of the trade." Negotiations were opened; and now, with few exceptions, all the Governments in Europe and America have entered into treaties, by which they have solemnly bound themselves to co-operate with this country in terminating the mighty evil.

Happily for the cause of humanity, most of the powers who have brought themselves under these engagements, have faithfully adhered to them, and but few have openly violated them. Among these, the Committee regret to say, Brazil stands conspicuous. In 1826, that country agreed to a convention with Great Britain, stipulating:—First, that three years after the exchange of ratifications, it should not be lawful for the subjects of the Emperor to be concerned in the African slave-trade, under any pretext, or in any manner whatever; and that the carrying on of such trade, after that period, by any person, a subject of Brazil, should be deemed and treated as piracy. Secondly, that the two powers should, in the mean time, adopt the provisions of the Slave-trade convention concluded in 1817, between England and Portugal, and should forthwith apply them to the restrictions of the Brazilian Slave-trade.

Had the authorities of Brazil acted honourably in carrying this convention into effect, the nefarious traffic would have been suppressed. But papers were still granted by them to slavers to enable them to evade its stipulations, the guilty were allowed to go unpunished, and the commissioners appointed under the convention were, by their instructions, led to throw every impediment in the way of the Court of Mixed Commissioners, established in Brazil, for the adjudication of captured slavers.

In 1828, the Brazilian Government actually went so far as to propose an extension of the time for carrying on the traffic to three

years more. As the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, your lordship replied to the proposition that "the very nature of an extension of the period for which this abominable traffic is still permitted to endure, could not fail to be most unwelcome to every friend of humanity;" and, you add, you "could not hold out any expectation of an extension of the term." In 1829, the proposition was renewed; your lordship would not listen to it, but urged on the government the adoption of "the equipment article." This proposition was, however, not acceded to until 1835, when additional articles were signed, authorizing the condemnation of vessels equipped for the slave-trade, and their being destroyed after condemnation. These articles, however, have never been ratified by the Brazilian Legislature; and the various propositions of the British Government to give full effect to the convention of 1826, have hitherto been without effect.

From that period up to the present time, it is probable that at least a million and a half of slaves have been imported into Brazil, whilst it is certain that since the year 1831, when the decree was issued declaring that all slaves brought into that empire should be free, more than a million have actually been introduced. It were useless, my lord, to point out how little has hitherto been gained by the remonstrances of the British Government, or how gross and open have been the violations of the faith of treaties on the part of the Brazilian authorities, further than to state that it has been found absolutely necessary for the former power solemnly to protest against the proposed revocation of the decrees of the empire giving effect to the treaties which exist.

The time appears now to have fully come, when, in negotiating a new treaty with Brazil, means should be taken to secure the complete fulfilment of the slave-trade treaties, and guarantees should be obtained for their *bona fide* and prompt execution. By those treaties this country has obtained the right of demanding, not only the complete extinction of the slave-trade between Africa and Brazil, but the liberation from bondage of that vast mass of unhappy beings who have been unlawfully introduced into that empire; and, happily, in urging that demand, the British Government occupies a position in which her claims are sustained by the laws of Brazil as well as by her treaties, by the voice of justice and humanity as well as by the spirit of the Christian religion. The Committee would venture to suggest that Her Majesty's representative might avail himself of the present opportunity of urging on the Brazilian Government the complete abolition of slavery as the most effectual means of securing, not only the permanent prosperity of the empire, and the development of its vast resources, but of opening the way to an enlarged commercial intercourse with this country. If the present authorities in Brazil are sincere in their reprobation of the slave-trade, which their own laws denounce as piracy; if they are determined to recover the honour of their country, which their predecessors in office have forfeited; if they desire to stand high in the estimation of the enlightened and the moral of all nations; if they are anxious to secure the future liberty and peace of the empire, they will fulfil their solemn engagements to Great Britain, and give force and efficacy to their own laws in relation to slavery and the slave-trade. But however this may be, the Committee trust Her Majesty's representative will be instructed not to conclude any treaty which shall either weaken its claims to the exact and immediate fulfilment of the conventions and articles referred to; or which shall leave in slavery those wretched beings, who, contrary to their stipulations, have been illicitly introduced into that country.

On behalf of the Committee,

(Signed)

JOHN SCOBLE.

27, New Broad-street, London,
17th November, 1842.

THE CONVENTION.

(From the Nonconformist, June 14th.)

The second general Convention of the anti-slavery cause commenced its sittings yesterday, in Freemasons' Hall. Indisposition has prevented the venerable Thomas Clarkson from gratifying the delegates, and fulfilling his own intention, by taking the chair on this interesting occasion. His place is filled by Samuel Gurney, Esq. The assembly numbers amongst its members some of the most distinguished philanthropists from all parts of the world. It is a gathering which does honour to human nature—or, more correctly, to that religion which touches the springs of benevolence, and, whilst it elevates, softens the heart of man.

Slavery, one of the direst curses under which nations can groan—slavery, degrading alike the oppressor and the oppressed—which teaches man to regard and treat his fellow-man as an animal of the inferior order, without intelligence, without feeling, without conscience—which tears asunder all domestic ties, tramples upon all personal rights, and debases its victims in order that it may secure them—slavery still prevails over a considerable portion of the globe. Those only who are familiar with its disgusting and horrid details can estimate aright the weight of this curse upon mankind. It is truly the foulest blot which has ever stained the history of our race; for whatever is dark and loathsome enters into it as a component element. Since its abolition in our British colonies, the public have paid but little attention to the subject. This second Convention will, we trust, do much to resuscitate it, and to kindle, not in this country only, but in other European nations, as well as in America, a determination to wage an incessant and exterminating crusade against a system, which sweeps with desolation so wide the temporal and spiritual interests of humanity.

It is quite evident that the slave-trade can only be put down by

the extinction of slavery itself, and that slavery must be made to give way before the all-powerful and all-conquering career of peaceful agitation. Armed cruisers, and physical force demonstrations, do but make "confusion worse confounded." The slave-trade is not demolished by such means, whilst the horrors of it are increased by the risk at which it is carried on. Where there is a profitable market, the article in demand (O that we should be compelled to speak in such terms of our fellow men!) will find its way thither in spite of every intervening obstacle. Facts have abundantly confirmed this position. The only feasible plan for abolishing the evil is by getting rid of the cause of it. The Anti-Slavery Society have begun at the right end. Their object is a magnificent one—their means in unison with the benevolence of their object—and, great as is their undertaking, sooner or later they are certain of success.

It is not our intention to detain our readers, at the present moment, with general observations on the question under notice. These will be more appropriate in our next week's number. We have said thus much merely to draw their attention to the proceedings of the Convention, as full a report of whose proceedings we shall give as our columns will admit of.

THOMAS CLARKSON.

(From the Pictorial Times.)

The solemn Convention, commenced on Monday, is pregnant with matter for high, ennobling thoughts—is abounding with the seeds of hope for the regeneration of mankind. The venerable Clarkson was not present, as it was expected he would be; but we know no diadem of the universe so glorious as that old man's grey hairs—grown grey in the sublimest struggle that can uplift humanity. The crown and the purple robe; the sceptre and the olive; all the pomp and blazonry of the regalia; the heralds' trumpets and the shouts of bellowing multitudes, are tinsel, rag, and mutterings of the idle wind, compared to the might and glory which invest the man who, with no weapon but truth, no armour but his undaunted soul, mailed with a sense of eternal right, went forth and wrestled with the twin giants, Ignorance and Avarice; and though again and again repulsed, scorned, reviled, laughed at by the benighted, foolish scoffers of the world, flung down the many-handed wrong, and conquered in the name of Heaven. What were the triumphs of a Cæsar? A bravery bought by blood and agony. What, indeed, the conquest of war at the very best, but a hideous spectacle made up of death, and wrong, and suffering. We turn from the triumphant show with a poignant sorrow; with a deep and saddening sense of humiliation, that human nature should make to itself a glory from the carcasses of the great family of man. We look upon the laurel at the very best but as a thing gathered from graves—a plant watered with blood.

Let us for a brief space contemplate a Clarkson and a Napoleon. Let us weigh them in the scales of everlasting truth. Up goes the emperor, kicking the beam, though he have the diadems of a dozen despoiled kings, the pope's tiara beside, to balance against the soldier of humanity, the champion of the slave.

Clarkson and Napoleon! We can imagine to ourselves the pitying scorn possessing the face of some old general of the empire, at the desecration of the comparison; we can conceive him looking down with a sense of patronising compassion on the brutish ignorance of the parallel! With a twist of the moustache, he leaves us to the forlornness of our irredeemable condition: to him we are in the very hopelessness of mental imbecility. Napoleon has filled the whole earth with his name; it is sounded universally as the wind. He has left the mark of his iron footstep—deep, ineffaceable—in a thousand places of the world. He is one of the pets, the prime fondlings of history, cockered with the name of "great," bowed to for his greatness by thousands and thousands, who, with the instinct of vulgar natures, duck to the echo of syllables, with no thought of their significance. After all, worshippers of sounds are as ten to one to the worshippers of things.

Napoleon, starting for his Italian campaign, scaling the Alps, and discharging his army, like Jove's thunder, upon an amazed people, is a tremendous object—a terrific evidence of energy—almost the sublimity of force. Our imagination is entrapped by the effort, and in our very surprise we pay a deeper homage to the act than reason demands of us. The truth is, we are startled into worshippers.

Thomas Clarkson, with no army but his own high thoughts, no direction but his own sympathies, which gave and claimed a brotherhood of the black man—Thomas Clarkson, rising amongst men, and vindicating the grand benevolence of Heaven towards all the human race, is to our homespun imagination a nobler, a loftier object than the young Corsican at the head of all his legions. The battle, too, was quite as fierce: the reward, the vulgar recompense of mere admiration, far, far distant. How easily, with what self-complacency, do we consider benefits, when we reflect not of the toil, the struggling, that begot them. The heroism, nay, the martyrdom of one age becomes the commonplace of ages succeeding. How many liberties do we at this moment enjoy, common as the air, which, no more than the air that colours our life-blood, do we pause to think of? Our very familiarity with the blessing makes us heedless of it.

It is well that such meetings as the Convention should be held. They bring back to our memories—to our thanksgiving sympathies—the perils of earlier days. Can humanity afford to the world a more sublime spectacle, than when it sends forth, strong only in his

own goodness, the apostle of good? when a Thomas Clarkson steps forth, a self-devoted champion of a helpless race, doomed by the prejudices, and, what is stronger still, by the avarice of mankind to perpetual bondage, to suffering, to cruelty, to the endurance of such aggregate wretchedness that the heart sickens, and the flesh creeps, to think of?

In this blithe, this civilized 1843, the query of Corporal Trim meets with a benevolent response—"The black man has a soul." When Clarkson first worked in his sublime mission, the black was a mere animal; not "God's image in ebony," but something in the shape of man—a slight advance upon the ape, inasmuch as the creature had the powers of speech. He was a thing made for the use of the white race—a production of nature, like the trees, to be cut and chopped and hewn at the "sweet will" of the white possessor. And this faith was strong in the hearts of man. And wherefore? It was a convenient creed. It was the very cunning of selfishness to put forth such belief, inasmuch as it formed the best excuse, or rather the best right, to the taskmaster to continue a factor and a huckster in "the muscles and the bones of man." He did not trade in God's image: certainly not; but in a merchandise which the bounty of nature had bestowed upon him to make the most of, even as she had given to him asses and kine. More: we believe that many were sincere in this creed; that many, considering the negro as the born vassal of the white, looked upon his champion and pleader for equal rights, as one who would irreligiously controvert and confound the ordinance of Heaven.

We have only to reflect upon the existence of this belief—strengthened as it was by that which is ever most strong, the selfish interests of men—to have our love and veneration awakened towards the inflexible spirit—inflexible in its very meekness—that opposed itself to the common laughter and the common abuse of the world. Easy and pleasant enough it is to rejoice at a triumph when achieved; but is there a harder task for man than to set his unabashed front in opposition to a hostile world, with all its armoury, all its flying missiles of contempt and merriment and evil speaking? Very beautiful, indeed, is the poetic picture of Hector arming for the battle; but what is it to the arming of the soul, devoted to good, against the contumely, the injuries, and the slanders of the world? Solemn, indeed, is that moment; solemn and sacred that time of preparation. Truth, herself, gives her own champion the sword, and angels buckle on his armour.

It was, thus appointed, that Thomas Clarkson fought for the slave. It was thus his spirit, encased in "divine temper," attacked the selfishness, the tyranny, and the apathy of men. It was thus, that, again and again seemingly overthrown and confounded by the enemy, who made one common cause against what the sobriety of Mammon deemed the Quixotism of a sick-brained enthusiast—it was thus Thomas Clarkson, invincible in the truth—a truth that, as he knew, would sooner or later knock at the breasts of all—it was thus he conquered in the cause of outraged man.

But the slave was not alone redeemed. Truth is single; injustice ever twofold. The negro, it is true, has been saved from tyranny; but the tyrant has also been saved from himself. We have said injustice is twofold. No wrong can be single in its action. The slave is stolen, chained, stripped, worked like a beast. Poor wretch! The wrong he suffers is great, his misery inexpressible. Yet, however "damned custom" may render callous the heart of his master, is he not, too, degraded by the punishment he inflicts? Is he not blotted from the list of good and happy men by the very iniquities he wreaks upon another? We have said, his heart is made callous by custom: that it is so, poor creature! is his most grievous affliction—is the inevitable curse flung upon him by his evil-doing towards a fellow-creature.

In an early part of this essay, we coupled the names Napoleon and Clarkson. Of one, it was said, he had left the traces of his name throughout the world. And has not Clarkson? At this moment, is not the influence of his benevolent spirit felt along the shores of Africa? Does it not gladden tens of thousands in the rice-field—in the sugar plantation? And, more than all, has it not that quickening principle of right, which, eternal as the stars, will do its constant work when he, Thomas Clarkson—the fleshly tabernacle of a man—shall be as he had never been? The spirit he bequeathes to man is immortal—a part of that which shall receive immortal gladness. He will die; he will pass from the earth, and millions who may never hear his name shall feel the glorious influence of his earthly labours. They will see no medal struck with his *vera effigies*; they will know nothing of the single-handed fight he fought, to rend apart the black man's bonds: but they will enjoy liberty; they will, in their freedom, prevent the double curse that might otherwise have fallen upon the slave and the slave-maker.

The meeting of the Convention, independently of celebrating its own immediate triumph in the cause of man, has this other value—it exhibits an evidence of what energy, rightly directed, can accomplish against the heedless force and iron prejudices of the world. From that very Convention Hope calls forth to all men, strong in a good purpose, not to faint or falter; and points with a gladdened look to the hoary and beloved head of Thomas Clarkson, who, with the truest majesty of earth, is enthroned upon the noblest eminence of the world—the gratitude of millions. May he for years be spared to us to show the living semblance of a great and good man in really the loftiest and noblest meaning of greatness and goodness! As we have to venerate and do homage to such natures, so shall we be released from that blind and stupid bigotry which makes a glory of bloodshed and defies destruction.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

(The Patriot, June 26th.)

If we have not distinctly adverted to the proceedings of the great Anti-Slavery Convention which has recently been held, none of our readers will attribute the apparent omission to any diminished zeal or interest in a cause to which this journal has always been forward to tender its best aid, or to our under-rating the importance of the Convention itself, which, when we consider its object, and the noble band of philanthropists who composed it, from different continents and of different races, appears a more august assembly than any congress of despots or conclave of priests that ever met within the pictured walls of church or palace. Nor, estimated in relation to its probable results, will this second Convention yield in importance to any council or session of statesmen or churchmen ever held. The moral influence of this Convention will be felt throughout the American Union, in our own Colonies, in Brazil and Cuba, in Africa and in India. At no former period were the labours of the Anti-Slavery Society more loudly called for or more indispensable. The crisis of slavery seems to be at hand. It may seem passing strange, all but incredible, that a handful of private individuals, without the smallest portion of political power, and actuated solely by considerations of philanthropy, should be able to exert an influence upon the councils of nations and the decisions of governments. But such is the fact, and it is easily explained. The Anti-Slavery Society has its eye upon all that is passing in every quarter of the globe, in reference to the one sole object of its single-minded solicitude. It has, by this means, more early and more accurate knowledge and better information upon those points, than either our own or any other Government. Of this, we have documentary evidence; its memorials and records attest this. Moreover, it is known to the slave-trader and the slaveholder, and to all concerned in the nefarious piracy, to the white tyrant, and to the black writhing under the yoke of bondage, that there is such an eye of pity vigilantly observing what is going forward. Hence, the hatred, not unmixed with fear, though often masked under contempt, with which the Abolitionists are regarded by slave-owners in all parts of the world. And as this Society is an eye to the British nation and Government in these matters, so, it has also a voice which can make its whisper audible across oceans and continents, and which awakens an echo in the conscience of the slave-owner, and compels the homage of Power. This is no hyperbole. Its protests in the name of humanity, its remonstrances and appeals, grounded upon the eternal principles of justice, with which true policy is identified, have obtained attention from statesmen and rulers; and yet, all has been done so quietly and unobtrusively, that the public have known little of the agency which has been instrumental, in the hands of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, in accomplishing the mightiest results.

We do not say this with any view to extol the merits of the Anti-Slavery Committee, although we think that the public ought to have some idea of the vast amount of good which has been effected by the disinterested, persevering, philanthropic labours, continued year by year, in connexion with the efforts of American and other abolitionists abroad. We may instance the recent abolition of slavery in India; an event which has taken the British public by surprise, and the importance of which a very inconsiderable portion of that public are capable of appreciating; but which, in the United States, will be recognised as a more decisive proof of the determination of the British Government to abolish slavery, than even the twenty million Act. Without wishing in the slightest degree to detract from the honour justly accruing to the present Governor-General from the Proclamation he has issued, we are warranted in saying, that, to the evidence collected by the Anti-Slavery Committee and their Correspondents, to their Memorials to Government, and to their interviews with Ministers, this decisive and beneficent act of the Indian Government is mainly attributable. In other cases, their quiet but effective exertions, though not crowned as yet with the same happy results, have been of the utmost importance in preventing the consummation of flagrant wrongs and evils. In reference to the Article in the Washington Treaty for the mutual surrender of criminals, by which the security of fugitive slaves is threatened, as well as the Creole case, the Committee have obtained assurances which encourage the hope, that their earnest representations will not have been fruitless.

But, when we speak of the importance of the efforts of British Abolitionists at this crisis of slavery, we refer more especially to the African Immigration Scheme, which if not vigilantly opposed, will lead to a new slave-trade on the coast of Africa, to the exportation of Coolies to Mauritius, and to the condition of Texas, which may be said to be in the political market. Upon the decision of the all-important question relating to the future independence of Texas and its political relations, the fate of American Slavery, and possibly the peace of the world, depend. To this subject, the most interesting part of the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention will have been found to relate. We cannot now enter into the question, nor advert to the various other topics which came into discussion. Our object in these brief remarks has been simply to discharge a duty, in placing the exertions of Abolitionists in a just light, and to call the attention of our readers to the claims which the Anti-Slavery Society has upon public support. In reference, indeed, to one point, the only one upon which a difference of opinion arose in the Convention, it was our intention to offer some remarks, which we must reserve for a future opportunity. It is our misfortune not to be able entirely to agree with either party on that question.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Thursday, June 22, 1843.

SUGAR DUTIES.

Mr. CORDEN said,—I should like exceedingly to understand on what ground the Chancellor of the Exchequer was about to propose that the people of this country should pay for sugar double the price it bore in other countries; he wished him to consider well how, in the present condition of the people, he could continue to lay upon them these most unjust burdens. He would boldly ask whether, in the case of the West Indies, there was even a shadow of that pretence which it was asserted existed in other cases? The extent of the colonies, as regarded population, had been monstrously misrepresented: the whole population, with the exception of the East Indies, at this moment did not amount to five millions. If he took merely the British race, we had not a population of two millions and a half in Asia, Africa, and America. The system of trade in this country shut it out from the populous nations of the world, in order to maintain a monopoly for the sake of two millions and a half of the British race, independently of negroes and natives. Looking at the subject as a matter of policy, he would ask whether, in the present state of this country, it was fit that such a line of policy should be persevered in? Looking at Brazil alone, let it be remembered that one of its rivers would hold in its mouth the whole of the West India Islands, without obstructing the navigation. (Hear, hear.) Here, indeed, was a boundless field for the operations of commerce. He did not admit that the West Indies had any right to this monopoly, even if an enormous amount of taxation was not borne for them by this country. If the facts, relative to this point, were disputed, some difference might be made in the conclusions; but if they were not denied, and all knew that they were undeniable, the deductions he had drawn from them were inevitable. Therefore he wished to stop this proceeding at the outset, but at the same time, he reserved to himself the right of opposing the resolutions, should the house resolve itself into a committee. He opposed the motion that the Speaker leave the chair, and begged to submit the following resolution as an amendment:—"That, in the opinion of this house, it is not expedient that, in addition to the great expense to which the people of this country are subjected for the civil, military, and naval establishments of the colonies, they should be compelled to pay a higher price for the productions of those colonies than that at which similar commodities could be procured from other countries, and that therefore all protective duties in favour of colonial produce ought to be abolished."

The Speaker having decided that the amendment was irregular, it fell to the ground.

COMMITTEE ON THE SUGAR DUTIES BILL.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said,—That he felt as strongly as any hon. gentleman on either side of the house the importance of securing commodities as cheaply as possible, and it would have afforded him the highest satisfaction to have been able to make such a reduction in the sugar duties, whether imported from the colonies or from other countries, as should have led to a material reduction in the price of that article, such as would extend the enjoyment of it to those whose use was now limited, and open it to others who were now debarred from it. If, therefore, the state of the revenue would have permitted it, he would willingly have made the experiment; but, in the present condition of our finances, no person with ordinary prudence would have proposed it. Successive parliaments had affirmed the principle that our colonies were entitled to protection; but, quitting that question, he addressed himself to an amendment of Mr. Hawes, who proposed to reduce the duty on foreign sugar to 34s. He entered into details to show that it was notorious that the slave-trade in Brazil was more or less active in proportion to the prospect of the admission of Brazilian sugar into this country. For these reasons it was that he was induced to propose the continuance, for a limited period, of the existing sugar duties. He did not do so under the idea that those duties were so perfect as not to require any modification, or under the idea that it would not be the greatest possible advantage to the people of this country to have their supply of sugar at the cheapest possible rate; but he did so because where there was a prospect this year, as in the last, of an adequate supply from our own colonies, the produce of free labour, it was not politic or wise, until we could secure some advantage for those unhappy beings who were either now on the coast of Africa waiting to be transported to the Brazils, or who were now actually employed in the cultivation of sugar there, to give effect to the admission of slave-grown sugar, which sugar could only be produced by a new supply of slaves. With respect to consumption and prospects of supply, the right honourable gentleman observed,—In 1831 the consumption of sugar was 3,781,000 lbs., and taking the increase of population into account, the consumption of sugar had gone on augmenting. The last year had proved to be one of very great consumption, and that under circumstances calculated very much to diminish consumption. The difficulties of the country during that period were admitted by all, and the price of sugar, when he last discussed this subject, was 38s. 8d.; yet under these circumstances, the consumption was very great. There was at present in the warehouses a larger amount of sugar than at the corresponding period of last year. Of sugar from the West Indies, the Mauritius, and India, the supply anticipated, including what was in store, amounted to 256,000 tons, to be brought into consumption next year. The consumption of 1842 was 193,000 tons only, and, making every allowance for increased consumption from reduction of price, there was no necessity for calling in aid that sugar, which being called into the British market, gave additional encouragement to slave-grown produce, which it had always been the object of that house to avoid. As far as regarded the state of the sugar market, nothing could be more satisfactory than it had been during the five months of this year a ready elapsed. The quantity consumed gave an increase on the year of 24,000 tons beyond any corresponding period in preceding years. The price of sugar at present as compared with former years was moderate, and there was every reason to believe, indeed there was every reason to be confident, that the benefits of consumption would, to some degree, be extended, without inflicting further loss and ruin upon those who were engaged in its cultivation in our own colonies, and above all, without imposing upon us the necessity of giving additional encouragement to the article in those parts of the world where it had always

been cultivated by means of slaves, where slave labour was cheaper than free labour could possibly be expected to be, and where a stimulus to the production of sugar necessarily brought with it an encouragement not merely to the slavery already existing, but of that disposition to carry on the illicit trade in slaves which it was the policy of this country to put down. He felt, therefore, that under the circumstances in which we were at present placed, the measure he had proposed was, upon the whole, the most consistent with the national feelings and the national character. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. EWART would ask the right hon. gentleman whether, since 1831, the consumption had increased in proportion to the increase of population? He (Mr. Ewart) must say that in 1831 the total amount of sugar and molasses imported was 245,900 tons, and that in 1841 it was only 212,000 tons. The supply, therefore, had considerably diminished during that time. The consumption had also decreased. In 1831 it was 215,200 tons, in the next two years it was less; it was larger in 1835, which was a known good year; it diminished in 1836; it slightly increased in 1837; it was smaller in 1838, still smaller in 1839, and in 1840 it fell to the minimum of 87,000 tons from 215,000 tons; in 1841 it was 210,000 tons; and it was even then less, therefore, than in 1831. During this time the population had increased from twenty-four millions to twenty-seven millions. It might safely be said, therefore, that the consumption had not increased in proportion to the population. He (Mr. Ewart) would now give the consumption to each individual of the population. In 1831 it was about 20lbs. to each person, and it had gradually fallen, till in 1841 it was only between 17 and 18lbs. to each. In 1840 the price was at its maximum, and the consumption fell to the lowest point in the consuming scale. If the right hon. gentleman wished for a confirmation of his statement, he would only refer him to a publication just issued by an honourable gentleman who formed a component part of the board of trade. The evils of diminished supply fell most materially on the poorer part of the population. The members of that house felt very little (if any) an increase in price; but the poorer classes, in 1840, could not consume more than 6lbs. or 7lbs. a-head. If the poor had proper facilities they would cause a large consumption of molasses. The duty on foreign molasses was 23s. 9d. per cwt.; it was well known that molasses were produced during the refining of foreign sugar in bond, and the law provided that these molasses should be exported; whereas, if they were allowed to be consumed here, the people would be materially benefited. The argument as to the loss of revenue was untenable, seeing that statistical authorities had shown that the monopoly, by restricting the supply, caused an actual loss to the revenue; one authority affirming that in seven years that loss amounted to no less than 10,000,000l. What had been done, in reference to the sugar duties, to promote the trade abroad? It was a matter of deep regret that we would not open our trade with the Brazils. Had we made a treaty with Java, or rather with Holland, in fact, a reduction of the sugar duty on our trade with the East generally, as well as with China, where it was largely grown, would, in conjunction with a reduction of the duty on tea, have a most beneficial influence on our commerce. The long reiterated cry of injury to the West Indies, as well as the argument about the slave-trade, had each become stale and futile; commerce was the great slave emancipator; and he called upon them to abandon their false differential duty principle, and to do justice to the manufacturing and commercial interests of this country.

Mr. JAMES said that the house could not adopt the proposition of reducing the duty on foreign sugar to the same amount as that on colonial, without stultifying itself in the eyes of the country, and of civilised Europe. After paying 20,000,000l. to emancipate our slaves, and considering the expense we had incurred, and were still incurring, to put down the slave-trade, he was astonished that any man, aspiring to the reputation of a statesman, should make a proposition, the effect of which would be to aggravate all the horrors of slavery. We were taunted with the use of slave-grown tobacco, cotton, and so forth. This might be a very good argument for discontinuing the use of these articles, but not to add to them the consumption of slave-grown sugar.

Mr. BROTHERTON observed, he should be unwilling to adopt any measure calculated to aid in the encouragement of slavery; but notwithstanding the observations of the honourable member for Cumberland, he was prepared to express his decided opinion that the existing duties must be removed. They were most unjust; they operated as a tax upon the industrious classes of this country, their object being merely to support the interests of a class—to support a monopoly inconsistent with every principle of justice and sound policy. He believed that those duties had existed too long already. The extent of hardship which they had produced to the poorer classes would hardly be believed. He then entered into details to show that the differential duties on sugar cost the country 4,000,000l. annually. This was the injustice of which he complained; that the people of this country were compelled to pay a large amount of money to maintain a monopoly. By reason of the influence of the temperance societies, there had been a vast reduction in the consumption of intoxicating liquors, and a consequent increase in the use of coffee. In 1830, there had been a consumption of twenty-one millions of pounds of coffee; in 1842, it was thirty-one millions. But notwithstanding this increase, there had been no advance in the consumption of sugar, but a decrease, and a consequent diminution in the comforts of the poor. He repeated his belief that the existing laws operated unjustly towards the poor; and he denied that their alteration in the manner suggested would encourage slavery.

Mr. VILLIERS said, it was surely hard for the depressed and suffering people of this country to be told they were stultifying themselves when they said they had paid enough, and that they did not deem themselves bound to pay annually so many millions more to guard the properties of Jamaica from loss. (Hear, hear.) He doubted much whether, from the loss they sustained from the change from slavery to the freedom of their labourers, they were entitled to a sixpence. He believed the change was an advantage, (hear, hear, hear); and when they were told that there was some experiment making that they must not put in risk, he must contend that the experiment had been made, and found to answer, which was no other than whether the people of the negro race in the British West Indies would work for wages, (hear, hear,) whether they had any taste or aspiration for the comforts of civil life, and whether they would not wander on the wastes, living savagely, and toiling simply, for food easily acquired.

(Hear, hear.) That was the experiment, and it had been made, and it was the universal testimony—in fact it was never denied—that freedom sat upon a black man as it did upon a white one, and that he was operated upon precisely by the same circumstances. (Hear, hear.) Where the proportion of his number was small as regarded the capital and the most fertile land, he expected higher wages, which was, to a certain extent, the case in Jamaica and Trinidad. (Hear, hear.) Where the proportion was the other way, as in Barbadoes and Antigua, there labour was cheap, (hear, hear,) and the black man laboured hard for his living. But whoever thought of legislating with reference to the economical condition of these particular islands, and calling it a great experiment? (Hear.) There was no reluctance or incapacity on the part of the black man to work, as is abundantly testified by Mr. Gurney and others, who have visited the West Indies since the emancipation. Mr. Gurney says, that the negro, even in Jamaica, will do about three-fourths of the labour of a good Norfolk labourer paid in wages; and if kindly treated, will do as much as any English labourer; while others say that free labour is more productive, and a greater number of the working population are actually operatives than under the slave system. (Hear, hear.) So that it comes to protecting the proprietor in a monopoly after all, (hear, hear,) and he begged to say that favouring a few families in a colony was not the same thing as benefiting the colony, any more than it is in the mother country. (Hear, hear.) He saw abundant sympathy with the proprietor, but mighty little with the great majority who were the working class, but fellow subjects, as much entitled to our regard as any other. (Hear, hear.) For instance, the plan is to make the people here pay double for their sugar for fear of lessening the incomes of the proprietors, but the other plan is to introduce foreign labour into the colony to bring down the wages of the free labourers, because, forsooth, they are too high. (Hear, hear.) He would not go into the question how far this was necessary for sugar cultivation, but it marked the very different feeling for the proprietor and the labourer: (hear,) and, indeed, he could hardly speak with temper of the pretence put forth on another ground, by men, too, who always resisted emancipation, namely, that they are alarmed lest the import of slave produce in this country might tend to encourage slavery elsewhere. He did verily believe that, under the circumstances in which this was said, it did more to deprive us of all influence with other states in suppressing slavery than anything else—more to tarnish the glory and credit of the great measure of freedom—more to impress men with our insincerity in the cause, from beginning to end, than any one other thing. (Hear, hear.) They viewed us from a distance, and they saw the inconsistency of our conduct in all its nakedness. They saw us importing every other article the produce of slave labour—they saw us stipulating for the reduction of duties on goods exported to slave countries, which could only be paid for in slave produce—they saw us courting the alliance of slave states—they saw us importing this very excepted article of sugar into our warehouses, manufacturing it, feeding our colonies with it, trading with it in other countries, in short, doing everything with it but allowing the unfortunate working people of this country to use it. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BERNAL admitted that the 20,000,000*l.* for slave emancipation was a magnificent gift, but denied emphatically that the planters had been "compensated," seeing that their properties had been enormously depreciated, and did not yield a twentieth part of what they had done. The original efforts of Mr. Wilberforce and his coadjutors were directed against the horrors of the slave-trade, not against property, rights guaranteed by law and equity. For himself, he had received his share of the 20,000,000*l.*; but he had predicted that it would afterwards be a matter of taunt to them, which was unjust as well as ungenerous, seeing that the passing of emancipation had been the means of depriving many West India proprietors of every shilling of revenue they had enjoyed. The emancipated black population would not work more than four days a week; their desires were temperate, and their wants few; and though, doubtless, their condition was improved, they were enabled to obtain all they required, not only by working few days in the week, but few hours in the day. Sugar was an article very expensive to cultivate: and if there were a free, or an equal duty, and Brazilian, Cuba, Manilla, and other sugars came into our markets, was it to be supposed that the increased demand would not raise the price? It was a delusion to suppose that it could be kept down to such a rate as the advocates of the reduction of duty in their philanthropic views imagined; and it would, therefore, be unjust to make a sudden change which would ruin our colonies without any correspondent benefit to this country. It was not statesmanlike to undervalue our colonies, which had cost us so much, had been of such vast importance to our commerce, with which so many interests are involved, and might be our sheet-anchor in time of war. When such high-wrought expectations were associated with an extension of our foreign trade, it should not be forgotten what was associated with over-trading; there had been a time when Paisley muslins had whitened the sands of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, and the most disastrous results had flowed from the wild excitement of an extension of our trade with South America. The estates in our West Indies were still cultivated at a loss, because their owners were reluctant to abandon them; but make the present change, and all the smaller properties would be given up, and the black peasantry would degenerate into an indolent and listless population. For himself, he had lost largely by his West India property, which was economically managed, and was free from encumbrance; what, in the event of change, would become of those embarrassed with debt? Was Mr. Cobden, with his travelling views, prepared, for the sake of an exaggerated expectation of exporting cottons and cutlery to the Brazils, to turn a garden into a desert, abandoned by cultivated and civilized man? On these grounds, he argued for the continuance of protection until the West India proprietors got out of their embarrassed position, and were enabled to meet competition fairly.

Dr. BOWRING thought that Mr. Bernal's speech was not only able and ingenious, but a very natural one for a man in his position. But he protested against compelling the people of this country to pay an extravagant differential duty on sugar from one quarter of the world, in order to give a monopoly to another. It was said by the West Indians, when it was proposed to abolish slavery, give us as a compensation 20,000,000*l.*, and we shall not fear the competition of either free or slave labour. They had the compensation, and why did they not now struggle honestly and meet that competition fairly? The free-traders did not wish to injure the West India proprietors; for free-trade would benefit all classes.

Mr. MILNER GIBSON went over the grounds for the abolition of the monopoly, and contended that the Government neither had nor could make a reply to the case which had been made out for the equalisation of the duties. The free-traders were as earnest slavery abolitionists as any one else; but they were of opinion that by holding out that free labour could not compete with slave-labour, we were doing all in our power to perpetuate slavery.

Mr. GRANTLEY BERKLEY contended that all the colonies required was an abundant supply of free labour; but until it was obtained they should not be exposed to unfair competition.

On a division, there appeared—

For Mr. Ewart's amendment for the equalisation of the duties 50
Against it..... 135

Majority..... 85

Mr. HAWES then said, he had to propose the reduction of the duty on foreign sugar with a view to diminish the differential duties, and to bring foreign sugar steadily into competition with the West Indian. The right hon. gentleman opposite with others had urged the argument that reducing the present duty on foreign sugar of 63*s.* would have the effect of encouraging slave-grown sugar, and that the revenue would be affected. (The Chancellor of the Exchequer here whispered across the table something inaudible.) Well, then, if the revenue would not be affected, the question was reduced to this, would the house retain a prohibitory duty? (Hear.) No one who had argued the question hitherto, had ventured to press the advocacy of this duty as consistent with the declarations of the Government on other subjects. He would show that there would be nothing at all inconsistent with the opinions of those who had been the most staunch advocates of anti-slavery principles in what he had to propose. The opponents of slavery had always maintained that free labour would eventually prove cheaper than slave labour, and would beat it in competition. This had always been the contention of the most eloquent and eminent of the friends of the slave—the Macaulays and the Buxtons. And one of the most disinterested and devoted of living anti-slavery advocates had in a recently published pamphlet, said, "One of the main features of slavery is that it is incompatible with the higher degrees of agricultural improvement, and produces a debasement of the human faculties, which precludes their employment in the most beneficial combination with the aids of science and art; whereas he great advantage of freedom is its capability of receiving all valuable accompaniments of human labour, neutralizing in a great degree disparity of numbers, and securing an economy and perfection of process approximating wonderfully the production of widely differing powers." (Lord Stanley inquired when this was written.) The pamphlet had been published since the last sugar debates, and with the express view of vindicating the consistency of the anti-slavery advocates who had supported the reduction of duty. (Hear, hear.) This was a solid foundation for his argument, as it would be a serious thing were there any ground for the assertion that such reduction would increase the growth of slavery. But the house was aware of the enormous extent of our present trade with the Brazils, and which none professed a desire to diminish, but rather to extend. Our negotiations with that country had failed, it had been stated in the other house, only on a question of duty. Our anti-slavery influence with Brazil could only be exercised through the medium of diplomacy; therefore the desire of our Government to extend our commerce with that country was inconsistent with denunciations of slave-grown produce. The question really was between protection and prohibition. He could not consent to the instant and entire abolition of protection, thinking that all such changes should be gradual; and he believed his proposition tended to such an effect. The amount of protection was not to be estimated as only that between the duties of 34*s.* and 24*s.*; but he thought the calculation suggested by his hon. friend, the member for Montrose, was correct; that if the price of West India sugar was at 60*s.*, and from this were deducted 24*s.* for duty, and 7*s.* for charges, freight, insurance, &c., 29*s.* would be the price received by the producer; whereas, the price of foreign sugar being 54*s.*, deducting 34*s.* (the duty which he should propose), and the same amount of 7*s.* for charges, &c., there would remain only 13*s.* for the producer; so that the real amount of protection was not the difference between 24*s.* and 34*s.*, but between 29*s.* and 13*s.*, and surely that was amply sufficient. He would now conclude by moving a resolution practically carrying out his notice on the paper, that "the duty on foreign sugars be reduced to 34*s.*" (Cheers.)

Mr. GLADSTONE, followed, and argued that the proposed reduction would not, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had already shown, produce any material effect on the consumption. If the duties were altered at all, it should be to such an extent as would materially stimulate consumption. If this proposition were to have the effect of admitting any great quantity of Brazilian sugar into the market, it could not be denied that it would practically give a stimulus to the slave-trade. The honourable member for Lambeth argued this part of the question merely from reference to authorities; he quoted a passage from Mr. Beldam's book to show that free labour was cheaper than slave labour, which merely laid down this as an axiom. That might be very true as a general proposition, but what was the course taken on this question by all those who had taken the warmest interest in the abolition of slavery, and done most to promote the cause? Sir F. Buxton had strongly opposed the measure submitted to Parliament by the late Government; Dr. Lushington, who was then a most strenuous and efficient supporter of the administration, rose in his place in that house to resist the proposal; and Mr. Sturge, whom, he believed, he might name as a third person who had the greatest share in accelerating the final measure for the abolition of slavery, had only yesterday, in a public assembly in the metropolis, declared that in his opinion no produce raised by slave labour ought to be admitted into this country. The policy adopted in 1841, and sanctioned by a not inconsiderable majority of a Parliament favourable to the ministry of that day, although, he admitted, in a commercial sense open to objections, had yet, he believed, not been ineffective for the greater purposes for which it had been pursued. The slave-trade was in course of progressive and regular diminution up to the end of 1842. The importation of slaves into the Brazils had fallen from about 60,000, at which it stood ten years ago, to 12,000 or 13,000, in 1842. Into Cuba, eight years ago, 30,000 had

been imported; in 1842 there was not more than 3,000. How had that result been obtained? Partly, no doubt, by the activity and gallantry of our cruisers, and the noble liberality with which the means of this country had been exerted for the purpose of checking the slave-trade. That had been one part of our policy; but another part had been to withhold from the purchasers of slaves that encouragement which a reduction of duties would have given, furnishing a stimulus far more powerful and certain than any measures of repression which were at our command would have been in checking the trade. (Hear, hear.) These were, then, proofs of the practical effect of the policy of Great Britain. On some estates in the Brazils the cultivation of sugar had been abandoned, and that of coffee substituted. Honourable members opposite were fond of pressing the argument that Brazilian sugar ought not to be excluded while Brazilian coffee was admitted; but, although there might be some inconsistency in admitting the one article and excluding the other, when considered logically and philosophically, yet practically it was not. The article of sugar, from the continuous and comparatively severe labour which it required, had a special connexion with the slave trade, while coffee had no such connexion, as it might be raised by the labour of women and children. It might be a question how far our proceedings had been consistent with respect to the coffee of Brazil, but he said that, by receiving the coffee of Brazil we did not give a stimulus to the slave trade. This was not a mere question as to slave labour, but as to the slave trade. This opposition to the motion referred rather to its details than its principle, and rather to its insufficiency for the purpose it had in view, than to any essential vice in its nature. Those grounds of humanity which had induced the house to come to an adverse decision in a former session remained still in full force, and would, he had no doubt, lead the house now to a similar conclusion. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. LABOUCHERE argued that the interests of the revenue, of the home consumer, and of the colonists, were all concerned in the proposed reduction. The late Whig government had considered that a breathing time should be allowed, after the passing of the act of slave emancipation, but had felt that the time was come for an alteration when they had proposed it. That time was now long passed, especially after the adoption of an altered fiscal system, from which, however, corn and sugar had been omitted.

Sir ROBERT PEEL stated, that the admission of Brazilian sugar had been amongst the propositions made by this country to the government of Brazil, accompanied with the demand that that government should undertake measures to mitigate slavery. The negotiation had been broken off by the demand of the Brazilian government that the agricultural produce of that country should not be subjected to a higher differential duty than ten per cent. The Brazilian treaty will continue till the month of November, 1844. The honourable member for Dumfries has frequently objected to me thus:—"If, (says the honourable gentleman,) you object to make a treaty with Brazil, why do you not treat for the admission of Java sugar, and sugar the produce of the other islands in the Indian Archipelago, and for the admission also of China sugar into the markets of this country? There (continues the honourable gentleman,) is a mode of opening the British ports for the admission of foreign sugar free from the objection that such sugar is the produce of slave labour. You need not (says he) remove a prohibitory duty from slave-grown sugar, but remove it from free-labour sugar." The answer to the honourable gentleman is this, that by the treaties with Brazil, and with other countries, producing sugar by slave-labour, we are not at liberty, during the existence of those treaties, to permit the introduction of sugar the produce of free labour. We cannot admit China sugar into the British market, nor Java sugar, although it might be the produce of free labour, while our treaty with Brazil continues. Because that treaty gives Brazil the right of insisting upon the introduction of her sugar upon as favoured a footing as the produce of any other country, although that country might produce its sugar by free labour, while the sugar of the Brazils is the produce of slave labour. We are not at liberty to say to the Brazils, "True it is, we have admitted Java sugar into the British markets, because it is the produce of free labour, whereas yours is the produce of slave labour." Brazil has a right pending the treaty, to contend for the admission of her sugar upon the most favoured footing. That is an answer to the honourable gentleman with reference to the admission of Java sugar. I must still contend, notwithstanding all that has been said,—willingly repeating all my admissions in favour of the great advantage of reducing the price of sugar in this country, believing that it would be productive of great good,—still I must contend, that considering the existing state of the public feelings in the Brazils with respect to the slave-trade,—that this country, after the course it has taken, and after the immense sacrifice it has made to suppress and put down slavery and the slave-trade,—after its professions in the face of the world with respect to slavery,—could not, consistently with its high name and character, admit Brazilian sugar into the British ports without previously procuring some terms advantageous to the condition of the slave in that country. (Loud cheers.) But when we look at the extent of the coast of the Brazils, and at the enormous quantity of virgin land immediately fit for labour, and when we consider that the public feeling in the Brazils is almost universally in favour of the free admission of slaves, for the purpose of cultivating tracts of land, either already partially, or not at all, brought into cultivation, the difficulty attending any negotiation must be obvious. It is said that we are influenced by a desire to protect monopoly—that we are afraid of contending with the West India interest. I believe that if the government disregarded all considerations of justice, and had no other object but to gain popularity, in that case their policy would be to destroy the West India monopoly by removing the sugar duties, and in that way admit Brazilian and foreign sugar into this country. (Hear.) It has been said that we have purchased the right to do this by the advance of the twenty millions. It was a noble gift no doubt, but I very much doubt whether we have compensated the slave proprietor for the loss inflicted upon him by the change in his position with respect to slave labour. I was anxious to make some inquiry upon that subject; and instead of any vague and general calculations, I obtained the particulars of the estates of one individual proprietor. These estates, when slavery was permitted, on an average of years produced about 10,000*l.* per annum. During the

apprenticeship system they produced an average of 6,400*l.* per annum, after the payment of all expenses. I received an account, on the accuracy of which I can rely. It appears that from the 1st of January to the 31st of December, 1840, the payments altogether for labour of wages, the island taxes, repair of buildings, and supplies of various kinds, such as machines, implements, &c., amounted to 10,861*l.* The actual receipts were 7,028*l.* In 1841, the payments were 9,889*l.*, and the receipts 7,042*l.*; and on the last year, 1842, when it has been said there has been a sufficient interval for breathing time, the payments were 9,795*l.*, and the receipts 7,230*l.*; so that these estates, which produced during the existence of slavery and slave labour 10,000*l.* a-year net income, have, since the abolition of slave labour, sustained an average annual loss of 3,081*l.* (Hear, hear.) [He was probably not a resident.] I admit that residence may form an important element in the profits of a West India plantation, but I am at present only comparing the former period with the present, and at the former as well as the present period residence would probably have increased his receipts. I am showing that the measure which gave 10,000*l.* or 14,000*l.* to that man for his slaves, noble as the gift may have been on the part of this country, cannot be looked on as having given him a complete compensation for the loss of his slave-labour. And here I beg to be understood that I am not complaining of the act of abolition, or of the amount of money paid for it. I am only dealing with the argument that we have paid you the 20,000,000*l.*, and, therefore have a right to deal with you as we like. I say again, that when I come to legislate on such a subject, I must look at the actual condition of the colonies, and the nature of the connexion which exists between them and the Government. He hoped the house would consent to the proposition of the Government.

The Committee then divided, when there appeared:—

For the motion of Mr. Hawes.....	122
Against it	203

Majority against the motion 81

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